WHY I SHALL VOTE FOR NORMAN THOMAS

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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VOL. XI NOVEMBER, 1928 No. 11

Mahatma Gandhi on War

A REPLY TO AN INQUIRER

Why I Returned My Croix de Guerre

AN AMERICAN WOMAN

Would Jesus Be a Sectarian?

DEVERE ALLEN

Progress or Decadence?
Harry F. Ward

Social Insurance
I. M. Rubinow

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI November, 1928 No. 11

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Note:—Self-Education for Marital Partnership, publication of which was announced for December, has been delayed due to the serious illness of the author, Frederick Harris.

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Who's Who in This Issue

General Freiherr von Schoenaich is a member of a distinguished Prussian family and has had a long career in the German army.

I. M. Rubinow has had wide experience in social work and is now Executive Director of the Zionist Organization of America.

Francis P. Miller is Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation at Geneva, Switzerland.

Harry F. Ward is Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary.

B. Be Ligt is a Dutch Pastor. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, needs no introduction to our readers.

Brent Dow Allinson, a leader in the Youth Movement, has recently returned from an extensive tour of Russia.

Paul Jones is Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Frank Lorimer is a lecturer in Social Theory at Wellesley College.

Tucker P. Smith is Executive Secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Agnes A. Sharp was formerly Managing Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Amy Blanche Greene is Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Vera Kelsey is on the staff of Theatre Arts Monthly.

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In December

The Larks of St. Francis
Vida D. Scudder

The Minimum Wage and Family Allowance
Paul H. Douglas

Pacifism in Personal Relations
John Haynes Holmes

The Tactics of Minority Groups
Howard Thurman

The Religion of Communism
James P. Warbasse

A Story
Martin A. Nexö

Akbar, Emperor of India
Felix Valy

Would Jesus Be a Churchman?
Reinhold Niebuhr

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI November, 1928 No. 11

Editorials

Prosperity in These United States

Those campaign spellbinders who grow ecstatic over the prevailing prosperity in the United States should be compelled to read and digest the contents of the two publications recently issued by the National Industrial Conference Board which are reviewed elsewhere in this issue. In order to grasp the significance of these studies it must be remembered that they were prepared by a research organization which is sponsored by a large group of manufacturers, and therefore should not be regarded as "radical" or "subversive." One of them deals with the cost of living in twelve industrial cities, the other with wages in eight states.

The average annual cost of maintaining a fair American standard of living for husband, wife, and two children under fourteen, not three as in some former budgets, was estimated from $1,441.96 to $1,659.84. In only three cities was the figure under $1,500, while the average for the twelve was $1,556.32. Our readers will readily believe that these are *minimum* figures when they try to imagine how they could maintain a family of four on these amounts.

Skilled and semi-skilled workers, when regularly employed, receive more than enough to meet these minimum budgets, although the margin is not as great as is commonly supposed. Sixty per cent of milling machine operators in six of the eight states, for example, received less than $1,511 if they lost no time whatever. But it is among common laborers that the rates are appallingly low. The average for men in the eight states was as follows: over 63 per cent received less than $1,053 if they worked regularly throughout the year; while less than 3 per cent received more than $1,282. More than 21 per cent of the women received less than $595, while 82 per cent received less than $824 for a whole year's work. All of the above rates are calculated at eight hours per day, with Saturday afternoon off, fifty-two weeks per year. Enforced unemployment must be taken into account when calculating the adequacy of wages.

Standards of living are much higher in the United States than elsewhere in the world. The most fortunate million enjoy a degree of luxury not equalled anywhere in the world. The members of the middle class are far more comfortable than in other countries. Even our poor are not so poor as in Europe or the Orient. Nevertheless, even in this favored land an appalling percentage of men are unable to support a wife and two children in decency and minimum comfort. There still remains a tragic amount of preventable misery. Optimism should be tempered with realism.

Statistician Hoover

The Republican candidate is a renowned engineer and has a reputation for accuracy and efficiency. That is, when he speaks as an engineer. But during recent weeks the engineer has been swallowed by the candidate. The candidate has been guilty of gross distortion of statistics. In his Newark address, Mr. Hoover said: "An accurate survey of the Department of Labor showed that even including the winter seasonal unemployment, about 1,800,000 employees were out of work as contrasted with five or six million in 1921. . . . When we assumed direction of the government in 1921, there were five to six million unemployed upon the streets." Here speaks the candidate, not the engineer.

The figure 1,800,000 given out by the Commissioner of Labor Statistics was an estimate of the *shrinkage* in employment from 1925 to 1928 and not of the total number of unemployed. This figure did not include the number out of work in 1925, the net increase of immigration, or the influx into industry from the farms. Non-political estimates place the total at from four to five millions. Concerning the figures for 1921, the President's Conference on Unemployment which met in September and of which Herbert Hoover was chairman said: "It is highly improbable, taking all occupations into account, that more than 3,500,000 persons now remain unemployed." Take your choice. Accept the figures of engineer Hoover or of candidate Hoover.

Governor Smith on Water Power

The more Governor Smith speaks on water power and the longer the Republican candidate maintains silence upon this vital issue the more obvious it becomes that the Republican organization is too intimately tied up with water power interests to warrant any hope of action against the predatory power interests from a Republican administration. It may be that Hoover will ultimately be more liberal than Coolidge upon some important issues. But we venture to predict that upon this issue he will be worse rather than better since he seems more definitely obligated to the power interests than Coolidge was.

We do not maintain that Governor Smith's program upon water power is thoroughly satisfactory. He speaks of the government ownership and development of water power sites but is vague upon the question of distribution. It is quite probable that his program would provide for the distribution of current through private enterprise. Nevertheless, his record in New York and his platform promises are so much better than either the performances or the promises of the Republican Party that increasing friendliness of such an expert on water power as Senator Norris for the Smith candidacy is not at all surprising. Undoubtedly Norris will influence the votes of many liberal voters who are able to see that the question whether water power shall be developed by governmental or by private agencies will become one of the major issues of politics in the next decades.

Mexico Turns the Corner

The election of a new president in Mexico is an event the importance of which should not pass without more notice than our absorption in our own presidential election may allow us to give. The quiet peaceful election of a young man of 37, a civilian, a modern lover of sport, a prohibitionist, an educator, as president of a country which has for a century had strife and illegality connected with the selection of its rulers is an event of first order in international affairs.

When President-elect Obregon was assassinated two months ago, even those of us who have followed closely and with the greatest hope Mexico's struggles for a new day were fearful that the country was in for another period of anarchy. That she has successfully met such a crisis, that the divisions between the agrarians and the urban labor unions, the former dictatorial position of the army, the deep divisions over the religious question, the usual pressure of foreigners in times of stress—that none of these influences has been able to prevent calm, serious, legal action in selecting a new executive is the most encouraging thing that has happened in Mexico in a generation.

The new president is one of a considerable grou of young Mexicans like the Saenz brothers, who hav stood behind the older leaders of the Revolution lik Carranza, Obregon, and Calles. These young me have been leading in various educational and politica positions of lesser prominence, but now one of ther is given the place of greatest importance. They hav the advantage of having lived most of their adult live surrounded by the ideals of the new regime, but hav fewer personal grudges and prejudices than the olde leaders.

Sr. Portes Gil is elected to serve until February 1930. His successor, who will serve the rest of th regular six-year period till November, 1934, will b elected in November of 1929. It is not likely tha the provisional president will undertake to settle def nitely any of the profound questions, such as the lan and church problems; he will leave them rather to on who has been elected by the people. He has the chance however, which he seems inclined to accept, of lesser ing the friction with the Church and with his fellow countrymen now exiled for political reasons. He ha offered amnesty to the latter and received petition from the former. Already Calles, forced by financia and military necessity, and soothed by the kindlines of Ambassador Morrow, has softened some of th most drastic points of the nationalist program. Th petroleum question has practically disappeared as a international issue, but foreign ownership of land i still an open question. If the best of the social pro gram of the Revolution is to be conserved, there i plenty of hard work ahead of the young Mexicans.

Few young men are presented with greater oppor tunities or more delicate responsibilities than the new liberal president of Mexico. Friends of progress th world over will wish for him both wisdom and courage

The Pact and Reservations

The editor of *The Christian Century* does not at tach much importance to the interpretative notes which were exchanged between the various Governments be fore the pact of Paris was signed. So far as the imme diate future is concerned, we disagree vigorously with Dr. Morrison. The spirit of diplomatists is far more determinative than the text of a treaty. In the long run, however, the two primary articles of the pact are likely to be much more significant and enduring than the qualifying notes. We confess that we are amazed at one statement in Dr. Morrison's editorial of October 4th. In previous issues he had justly and properly eulogized Secretary Kellogg for his dominant role in negotiating the pact. But when Dr. Morrison says "I have no criticism to bring against any of his interpretations as expressed in the correspondence," we are astonished. What does Dr. Morrison have to say

bout this sentence from the Secretary's note of June 3rd: "Every nation is free at all times and regardless of treaty provisions to defend its territory from ttack or invasion and it *alone* is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-efense"? If each nation is free to wage war—in self-efense—and to decide when it is acting in self-defense, is nonsense to say that all war is renounced or outawed. Moreover, we should like to inquire whether ecretary Kellogg's reverberating silence regarding the ritish Monroe Doctrine constitutes "faultless" diplonacy. It is unfair and unwise to lay all the blame on uropean diplomatists. Secretary Kellogg's own interretations are responsible for much of the prevailing ynicism concerning the Pact of Paris.

Socialists and Private Property

More than once we have marvelled. Marvelled at he reasoning processes of Fred R. Marvin. Mr. Marin of Key Men fame. But in a recent issue of *The Daily Data Sheet* he has out-marvined himself. After uoting Norman Thomas to the effect that "we do not ave enough private property for the use of the people ecause we permit private property for power," Amerca's greatest authority on radicalism goes on to say: 'Mr. Thomas has many times expressed himself as in omplete accord with the theories of Socialism, that is, he new school of thought called radical, and so stands *or the abolition of the private property right and all hat goes with that right.*" (Italics his.) We marvel. ndeed, we are filled with awe.

Swallowing Versus Thinking

The aspect of the current heresy hunting business which fills us with most apprehension is the widespread tendency of respectable people to accept as the gospel truth any statement emanating from societies which label themselves hundred per cent patriotic and malign those who refuse to accept the traditional brand of Americanism. An up-to-date illustration appears in the press as we write these lines. Mrs. Helen Brumley Baldwin testified in a libel suit at Morristown, New Jersey, that in her opinion such distinguished citizens as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jane Addams, S. Parkes Cadman, John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Raymond Fosdick, Henry Sloane Coffin and Felix Adler are dangerous citizens because they are "playing the communist game." When pressed for her sources of information she referred to such "patriotic publications" as *The Daily Data Sheet* of the Key Men of America and *What's What,* official organ of the Industrial Defense Association. In response to a question from Judge Lawrence as to whether she believed all the statements she quoted, Mrs. Baldwin said: "I believe that they were written by patriotic organizations who were fighting for the Constitution of the United States and trying to keep America for Americans. I believe what the writers said about these people."

Fortunately, the jury proved to be less credulous and gave an adverse decision in her libel suit against the Reverend William H. Bridge, who had said that in making charges against some of the above named citizens she was guilty of "lying imputations." Fred R. Marvin has been so thoroughly discredited that hereafter only the super-credulous, super-patriots will rely upon him as an authority on dangerous and subversive citizens.

Ten Years of Peace

Armistice Day, November 11th, marks the tenth anniversary of the close of the great war. A survey of ten years which have followed the eventful November day in 1918 impresses the observer with the old truth that wounds do not heal as quickly as they are made. In four hectic and frenzied years of warfare the nations of the west did such incalculable damage to one another's bodies and spirits that the healing processes are only fairly begun in ten years and will require many decades for their completion.

It is not to be denied that real progress has been made. Conciliation conferences in every spa of Europe seemed futile at first, but a measure of sanity finally manifested itself in them and Locarno ultimately opened a new chapter in continental diplomacy. The League of Nations, a weak child of whose life its very parents were tempted to despair, has grown into something like adolescent awkwardness. The early insanities in regard to reparation demands made way for the pseudo-sanities of the Dawes plan and these in turn are being revealed and the ground prepared for further revision. American isolation is at least partially ended by the Kellogg peace pacts. Thus does the better reason of the western world gradually assert itself. And the body of Europe, though scarred, no longer shows gaping wounds. Economic recovery is not wholly a fact but it has become a possibility.

Yet Europe is only partly out of the slough of despond. French troops are still quartered on the Rhine, helping to preserve vindictive passions on both sides. The Dawes plan has served the cause of conciliation thus far but will now become increasingly a source of friction until it is revised. How much hatred of America the debt question will generate in Europe before even the foundation for a settlement can be laid is difficult to estimate. While the economic recovery of the various nations is beginning, it is hindered by the stupendous tax load which the average European carries.

And no relief is in sight on that score for the yet unborn generations.

How dearly men and nations pay through the years for but a moment of undisciplined passion! Nor can we count on time alone to heal the wounds. Time does cool angry spirits, but it offers no guarantee against the winds which fan dying embers into new flame. The pacification of the nations can not be left to automatic processes. It is a task which challenges all the spiritual and moral resources of western civilization.

Intensive Fellowship

There are various sorts of conferences among the many which are held each summer, and there are people who believe that they are becoming played out as an institution. So far as these conferences have served as a somewhat pleasant way of getting people together in order to expose them to things they ought to know, it is likely that they have crossed the divide and are on the down grade. There is a limit also to the usefulness of those which serve to draw together primarily people of a similar background or interest, whether church, profession, or age. We get tired of meeting those who are too much like ourselves, for we build our ordinary business, social and religious life on that basis anyway. It becomes boring.

Bring together, however, people who are distinctly different, as to nationality, race, religion, economic status, age and sex, let them share a common life for a week or so, united only by a desire to explore together some subject of common interest, and such a conference holds unlimited dynamic possibilities. It is an artificial thing, to be sure, for in real life we never get such a mixture at close range and seldom do we have such a unifying thread to string the differences on. But a symphony orchestra is equally artificial; yet under the direction of an expert leader different types of sounds are blended into an ensemble that discloses harmonies previously undreamed of.

All this is apropos of the Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at Racine, Wisconsin, in August. There were more diversities in the group than usual, and for those who stayed through it can be described in no other terms than as an experience. It is immaterial what subjects were discussed. Those who dropped in for a day or so just to hear something may have felt repaid, but they could not share in that enlargement of personality that comes only as a result of a growing conscious effort at integration on the part of a living group.

The fall conference of the Fellowship at Camp Wocolona, Monroe, New York, in September, was of a different sort but significant from the fact that an effort was made to get most of the speakers to present points of view that the majority of those present were not ready to accept. This, too, made for a more stimulating experience than the type of conference where the faithful are reinforced in their prejudices.

Anglo-Saxon Protestant Domination

It has become the fashion of Protestant opponents of Governor Smith to insist that they oppose him not on religious grounds but purely because of his stand on prohibition. Even religious journals, otherwise known for their liberalism, have tried to put this construction upon the unanimity of the Protestant opposition to the Democratic candidate. The facts do not substantiate this claim. Undoubtedly, there are Protestants who are free of religious prejudice and would welcome the chance to vote for Al if he were not so wet. But among the great majority of church members and clergymen religious prejudice is as potent in determining political loyalty in this campaign as prohibition sentiment.

The Ohio Anti-Saloon League, closely affiliated with the church life of that state, has been distributing a circular in the churches in which we have *inter alia* this interesting challenge: "If you believe in *Anglo-Saxon Protestant domination;* if you believe in the maintenance of that civilization founded by our Puritan ancestors and preserved by our fathers; if you believe in those principles that have made this country what it is; if you believe in prohibition, its observance and enforcement, and if you believe in a *further restricted immigration* rather than letting down the bars still lower—then whether you are a Republican or a Democrat you will vote for Hoover rather than Smith."

Here is an interesting piece of campaign literature that manages to distil into a few brief words the whole mental outlook which accounts for the curious alliance between Protestantism and conservative Republicanism characterizing this campaign, and which has been a fairly constant phenomenon of American political life.

Previous editorials have made it clear that we hold no brief for Governor Smith. We do not expect any great change in policy through his election and we can not share the enthusiasm of his wet supporters for his program on the prohibition issue. Nevertheless, it is obvious that he is as truly the spokesman of the newer democracy of the cities as Andrew Jackson was the champion of the democracy of the "backwoods." The pharisaic tendency of respectable religion is revealed by the opposition of the "best people" to such political symbols of democratic forces as Jackson and Smith. The best people seem always to be interested in minutiae of personal habits or cultural achievements and insensible to the weightier matters of the law, social justice, and economic righteousness.

While we regard the outcome of the campaign with comparative indifference when we view the economic

ues, and while we would anticipate a Smith victory th some apprehension if it were to be taken as a al word on the prohibition experiment, we could welme it as a wholesome chastisement of the arrogant ordic majority and a necessary recognition of our wer immigrant groups. Incidentally it might also of- the opportunity for the kind of political experience ich would permanently free the American people of eir well-nigh pathological anti-papal fears. While e Catholic church is not only a religious fellowship t, in many respects, a political institution, its recent litical history in such countries as Germany and ustria completely discredits the extravagant fears of allegedly imperialistic ambitions.

The right of Protestant ministers and church mems to "put religion into politics" is not involved in is whole problem. Every religious truth has an ethil implication and every ethical ideal an economic and olitical one. What is needed therefore is not a diorce of religion and politics but a refinement of reion so that when religious communities seek to inience elections they will have something more than arochial prejudice and group pride to contribute to s issues.

enator (?) Vare

When does a man become a Senator? When deared the winner by a board of election or when seated y the Senate? Notwithstanding the fact that the Sente refused to seat Mr. Vare of Pennsylvania, on the round of excessive campaign expenditures, that geneman regards himself as a Senator and uses the offial stationery of the United States Senate, with his ame neatly printed in the corner, for some of his corespondence. We should like to ask the leaders of the dministration this question: Is William S. Vare a enator or is he falsely designating himself as one?

Youth Faces the Task of Peace

Between four and five hundred young people from ome thirty countries met at Eerde, Holland, in August for a conference to focus the common mind of outh on the abolition of war. They found there was o common mind. From start to finish, a basic cleavge was apparent between communist youth and those who did not share the communist doctrine of a cataclysic revolt followed by proletarian dictatorship. With haracteristic intolerance and filibustering to wear down he opposition by sheer oratory, the communist delegaions came close to breaking up the conference altogether. Even the old national loyalties were not absent.

The communist tactics were indefensible, but their oint of view was aggravated by the lack of concrete ontact with economic stress shown by so many in the opposition. The non-communist United States delegation, for example, numbered sixty-nine students and only one representative of radical labor. It was irritating to the communists to know that their comrades in Russia had been prevented from attendance by a refusal of visas on the part of the German and Dutch authorities. The pristine purity of their case was somewhat tarnished, however, through the insuperable obstacles placed by the Soviet government in the path of Russian pacifists wishing to attend.

It was impossible with such a clash of opinion and so heterogeneous a group of unacquainted youth to organize, as had been hoped, a world federation of youth for peace. A continuation committee was formed, and plans for a further development of the conference will go forward.

In the reports of the various commissions, which indicate that a majority of those in attendance were pacifists, strong indications are present of a radical leaven which will certainly have a far-reaching influence.

It is clear that these youth are irreconcilably opposed to social injustice, to imperialism as a major cause of war, to racial discrimination, to armaments. They are not, even many of those opposed to violent revolution and war, committed to absolute Tolstoyan, individual non-resistance.

The communist position was uniformly in accord with the program of official communism, and in varying degree the same was true of most economic groups. Striking indeed, in contrast to the record of the churches generally in all nations, is the ringing challenge of the commission on religion. This body condemned compulsory military service as "an unjustified violation of the individual conscience." It called on all religious and humanitarian organizations to give more attention to the wrongs and injustice suffered by oppressed nations, races and classes. It recommended (unanimously in the commission) the international recognition of race equality. It called on religious bodies to record their "unconditional opposition to war in all circumstances," and urged them "to call upon their members to refuse all military service as well as all indirect support of the war system, meanwhile engaging earnestly in work to overcome evil with love."

Along these lines majority opinion gathered; but so vehement was the minority that it was found necessary to put through, without vote, both majority and minority reports.

For the feeling of the communist youth that pacifist youth are too unrealistic in their discussion of economic conditions there is much justification. It is a question yet to be solved—despite some progress made even at this conference—whether it is wise to attempt joint efforts for peace between those who are for it as a method of social change and those who deem anything but violence a silly dream.

Why I Returned My Croix de Guerre*

TODAY, two days after the signing of the Paris Treaty, which voices the desire of the signatories that war as a means of settling disputes between nations shall be valid no longer, is a fitting time to tell your story, little *croix de guerre*. I can look back more dispassionately to Friday, the thirteenth of April, when I returned you to the French War Department.

When I looked at the vivid red and green ribbon and the dull sheen of your bronze cross for the last time before enclosing you with the letter of explanation to those whom it might concern, I was surprised at the tug at my heart strings, even though for two years I had planned to do this very thing. I had no illusions that you might mean to some one in the war office what you meant to me. I knew well that you would be tossed aside with the nonchalant remark, "Just another bit of tinware given out in the mess line." But you were not given to me in the mess line along with the slum and corn willie. You came to me in a different way.

No, you bring up visions, many of them clear-cut and as detailed as the carvings of a cameo. A No-Man's-Land than which hell can be no more God-forsaken—the very earth ghastly in her whitish-gray tone, crying out for a right to live, her bosom cut with huge rolls of cruelly barbed wire, scarred with fragments of shell casings, duds, hand-grenades, and dead horses, burrowed into by myriads of dug-outs, and deeply gashed with the zig-zag of never-ending trenches. Across this waste toward the enemy lines lies what was once a town—a ghost village, on the outskirts of which stand three khaki hospital tents overflowing with wounded. Even now over one of the two roads which extend back from the "front"—a place vaguely designated as being somewhere just beyond, but actually located day by day by the noise of battle—over one of these roads come the bumping and jolting ambulances with their gruesome loads of gassed and shrapnel wounded. Glad are the drivers to get in from the shelled road and away from the snipers' bullets. Back to these overflowing hospital tents they have brought the litter wounded. Many of the others will walk back to be sorted and re-bandaged if it is necessary to replace the temporary first-aid of the field dressing stations. Those whom death has already marked remain behind to breathe their last.

A PICTURE of the inside of that tent keeps rising before my eyes. At one side are two sets of saw-buck trestles, each pair holding a stretcher on which lies a khaki-clad figure bound in blood-soal bandages, and over whom is bending a hospital a trying to decipher the little white card on the ma breast, which may read, "abdominal," "shrapnel-le or "chest-high explosive." In the midst of this exa nation, noting the weakness of the inert bit of human before him, the aide may call to the back of the t for coffee, chocolate or cigarettes. Then from a c ner comes a gray-clad woman with a red triangle one sleeve and the United States insignia on the oth a *musette* over her shoulder filled with cookies, cho late, and cigarettes, and carrying a tin cup of steam coffee with a red tube which she gently inserts into mouth of the man on the stretcher, saying, "Here, B die, is a drink of hot coffee. It will make you feel b ter." Of if a cigarette is the thing that will steel nerve to have the dressings changed, out of the bulg knapsack she extracts one, and with practiced ha puts it between the man's lips and deftly strikes a ma to light the "painkiller."

ON the other side of the tent, in a long r from front entrance to back wall, are stretchers ten, perhaps, or more—she cannot stop to count. St ping carefully in the space left by the protrudi handle-bars at the head of the cots, the woman pau a moment beside each patient, offering coffee, cig rettes, cookies—whatever is needed to satisfy thc whose emergency rations have been gone two days more.

For five days through shelling and air raid this wo has carried on. Only the cessation of ambulances fr the front calls a halt. Perhaps at midnight the word ters through, "No more ambulances can come ba from the front until morning." The woman in gray a her companion leave the tents, go back a few pac to a row of dug-outs, one of which they occupy. B not alone. They will be joined before long by fi men of their outfit who have been carrying supplies the dressing stations from the headquarters town. T two women sleep on bunks one above the other in the sleeping bags. Across the narrow room in anoth bunk lies a man, stretched between the bunks is anothe and at the foot near the door the space will be fill with two more.

"Surely we are an integral part of this great onwa push against the enemy," muses the woman in gra "They tell us that our presence here helps keep up t morale of the men. We are at the strategic point activities, toward which the base, the folks back hon are all contributing. We are at the driving point ar we are doing our bit, small as it may be. How ma

* The writer of this article, with whom the editors have been acquainted for some years, prefers to remain anonymous because of the personal nature of her story.

ndreds more should be here! There is so much to done and so few to do it." Sleep once more claims e thinker, yet not before there has come to her con-ousness that sentiment which has so challenged her ıce those early days of ceaseless chocolate-making ring the airplane attack in the counter offensive of e Villers-Cotterets forest: "It is your business to be aceful and safe in God in every situation."

HOW can I tell of the next scene etched so clearly on my inner canvas? It concerns you and me so timately, little *croix de guerre.* Back in the head-arters town to which we have gone for a week or ore before we enter the next big push, I wander into e canteen of one of our men. He rushes to greet me th a crushing handshake, and I hear something out congratulations for having received a cross. I onder vaguely whether one of the ambulance boys ally has brought back an iron cross from some dead erman as he had said he was going to do. I reply, But he hasn't given me any iron cross yet," only to be tonished at the words, "I am not talking about an on cross. You and Miss B—— have been cited for e *croix de guerre* by the Division Surgeon." Sud-enly my knees grow weak, and only with a great ef-rt do I maintain my standing position. "No, no, it n't be! I've done nothing to deserve it. If you uld know as I know the hell through which our men ave gone, you would understand why I must not have What I have done is only a drop in the bucket." hat is the way I first heard about you, little cross.

A town in the Army of Occupation area in Germany ext takes its place in this kaleidoscopic review. An fficial letter from the headquarters of the American rmy with a communication from the French *Charge d'Affaires* in Paris contains the notification that if Miss B—— and I will report in Paris we will be the ecipients of *les croix de guerre* being held for us ere. Before long I stand in the office of the *Charge d'Affaires* in Paris and in the presence of several merican Y. M. C. A. workers while the bright green nd red ribbon with pendent bronze cross is pinned on y breast and the citation is being read in French and anslated into English. So you came into my posses-on, little *croix de guerre.*

What did you mean to me then and what since? Al-ough knowing that I did not deserve you as recogni-on for any service I had rendered, I was reconciled having you because your place on my uniform meant rtain things. It meant that women's work in the war as recognized; it meant that the much-maligned . M. C. A. had really done front-line work and its orkers were acknowledged to be making a vital con-ribution; it meant a sense of fraternity with those uddies who had been in the push and who were proud hat one of their workers had received an award.

WHAT made me decide after ten years to return you to your home in the French War Department? Why had I come to feel that I could no longer keep you? Did this change take place suddenly? No, I think that a seed was lodged in the midst of the war and, in spite of all the propaganda, it found enough to nourish it feebly through those long years until it burst into full bloom as a flower of peace and brotherhood. Little seems to have pierced the hard shell of propaganda in which I was encased until I had been "over there" some ten months. Then just before the action which brought you to me, little *croix de guerre,* as Miss B—— and I were hunting all over town for rubber tubing to be used to give the hot drinks to our litter cases, I suddenly realized the horror of it all. "Isn't it awful," I said, "that we are going around trying to buy rubber tubing and getting our supplies—cups, coffee, chocolate, cookies, and cigarettes—all ready *before* action—to be given out to these boys *after* they have gone over the top, been wounded and sent back to the hospitals? It is ghastly and inhuman to *prepare* for anything like that." Yet I, like the others, went ahead because, just then, that was our job.

Perhaps, too, there was something that had happened a few months earlier when I was stationed at an evacuation hospital back of Chateau-Thierry. It was one day while I was helping to serve coffee and sandwiches to hundreds of wounded, both litter and sitting, which number grew to be two thousand before the day was over, that the incident occurred. There was no room for these men in the tent hospital on the old chateau grounds, but they must nevertheless be cared for and we met the emergency as best we could. Seeing a badly wounded group lying under a tree, I carried my bucket and knapsack over to them. As I handed out the coffee and sandwiches, I saw that these wounded were of another country—the enemy's. Suddenly a hiss, then a chorus of hisses rent the air. Looking up I realized that I as well as the recumbent group was the object of opprobrium. I was giving aid and solace to the enemy and this was distasteful to the Americans. With all the spirit I possessed I called out, "When you are on the battlefield you treat the enemy as you please. In a hospital you treat him humanely, as you hope to be treated yourself!" Then calling the officer of the day, I asked whether he objected to my actions. To his everlasting credit he replied, "This is a hospital. All receive the same treatment here."

THAT scene knocked on the doors of my mind for many days only to be sent back into the darkness of oblivion until a more propitious season for evaluating it arrived.

Still another thing out of the same situation left a deep impression on me. The front had now moved so far beyond the evacuation hospitals that not only

were there longer delays in bringing back the wounded, but the number of amputations increased each day. It nauseated me, accustomed as I was to seeing all the mangling that warfare brings, to stop at bed after bed on my morning rounds to find another and another arm or leg, or perhaps both, gone. Cheerfully I tried to pass on the word to these men that the Government would fit them out with artificial limbs when the war was over. And with a gaiety that was sheer heroism, they made light of their loss. But I was sick in spirit after I talked to a surgeon just off duty.

"Can nothing be done to stem the tide of these operations? There have been so many more these last few days."

His reply remained when other things were forgotten: "No, not here. At home where we could give them careful treatment we need not amputate in many cases. But because of the lack of facilities and distance from the front, the dreaded gas-poisoning sets in and makes such headway that there is nothing else to do."

I was not conscious of any hardening on my part, but was rather proud that I could walk among the battered bodies and display little feeling. Had I not done so I would, of course, not have been allowed to stay; and rightly so, as the morale of soldiers and nurses alike must be kept up and not broken down by softer elements. But it did rather go against the grain to see the hardening in others—to note the nonchalance of the doctors and to hear the jests of the grave-diggers and burial squad as day after day they lowered into the ground those who had fought their last fight.

And it took me five years to see through the horrible game! There are some things that always accompany war—the petty thievery of the soldiers, the emotional and physical excesses which we who knew the stress condoned even while deploring. With the workers went the little jealousies bred of fatigue and repressed emotions. Only occasionally, however, would acknowledgment of these conditions be made. We were in our country's service. We were eager to serve. Why? Who can untangle the mixed motives that impel one to endure hardship, fatigue, criticism and at the same time remain blind to the glaring inconsistencies in one's own conduct and environment?

WHAT happened after the war? Nothing much for a while. But after seven months in Germany with the Army of Occupation, still in more or less of a war atmosphere, the shock of returning to America and finding the country back in its accustomed activities, with the war apparently forgotten, was tremendous. How could people be so impervious to the holocaust that had recently raged? Only where a family tie had been severed by death did there seem to be much comprehension of what had taken place. And what puerile criticism there was of the welfare organization that had given valiant service under almost impossible conditions of warfare; how inte the indignation over a few thousand dollars that n have been misspent in the emergencies confronted. I how little understanding of the vast loss of man-pov on the part of all of the countries involved!

Proudly I marched in the Armistice Day parades show my sincere desire to commemorate the giving all of those lives—only to find as time went on th these days were rarely days of remembering the de and our responsibility to them in the way of pea making. Instead, these occasions were opportunities emphasize the military spirit of the younger gene tion, to urge preparedness—preparedness for mo war.

Then came the Treaty of Versailles and I realize after seven months in Germany, that the common pe ple who were not responsible for the war would ha to bear an intolerable burden for years to come. was reading articles in *The Christian Century* a THE WORLD TOMORROW. I was having the shell propaganda by which I had been blinded punctured b by bit. In 1917 I could hardly wait until the Unit States went into the war. Now I was wonderi whether there might not have been a better way. R ports were coming from unpublished annals of th war. Who was responsible anyway? Surely not o country alone. What had been gained? An equivoc victory with the greater part of the world in a attitude of suspicion and hatred.

At this juncture fortunately for me and my peac of mind I began meeting with a fellowship grou whose members look toward and work for the tim when a spirit of love and tolerance will govern all th relationships of life. In this company there wer Jews and Protestants, Catholics, Bahaists, and fre thinkers; white and colored; Irish, Germans and Ame icans—all interested in meeting in the spirit of fa play and brotherhood the various problems confron ing them in their varied lines of work. A broad, en riching experience, the like of which I had not had be fore, came through these contacts. To work out com mon problems with those who might well have bee enemies—what a step forward in human relations!

Then came a summer conference followed by a nev study of the life of Jesus—not the things that h utered, not the attempt to take him literally when h talked about turning the other cheek, but the realiza tion that though he himself lived in the midst of a wa atmosphere, rife with the intense desire of his ow people for national independence, he became not zealot nor a militaristic reformer, as well he migh have been, but the exponent of a new gospel whose ain was to build a civilization based on the family relatio of love, of regard for the welfare of every member o society from the least to the greatest. It was then tha

resolved to bend every energy to work for understanding among persons and nations. Along with it me the conviction that those who held this ideal could long to no exclusive group but rather must seek to clude, irrespective of race, station, creed, or color, who wish to bring understanding and good will into e midst of confusion and misunderstanding.

Then, little *croix de guerre,* came the realization that mehow you had initiated me into an exclusive group, d that no more could I feel satisfaction in wearing en the tiny badge hidden under the lapel of my coat. ou stood for war, for all the after-effects of hatred, rest, suffering, separation. Even though given a reward for courage, little cross, you were born the war itself; you were tied up inextricably with l its cruel, barbarous activities. It is true that you mbolized service and the healing of battered bodies. ut why? To send them home? No, to heal them so at they might return again to the hell of the front nes to hurl hand-grenades, to drive bayonets, and to ose fury and hatred. So I knew that you and I ould have to part. But I put the thought from me r a season. You were dear to me.

A trip to Europe eight years after the armistice was gned—a friendship trip with young people who knew othing of the hatreds of the war, but who went to ecome acquainted with other students in a friendly ay. What a contrast! This then was the way to end ar. More understanding, more personal friendships ith those of other nations, more knowledge of the aditions and customs of the different countries; more orking together on common problems. At last another way had been found, not the way of the hand-renade and bayonet, not of propaganda and fear, but way of knowledge of facts, frank discussion, and utual good will.

TWO years ago at Christmas time, little *croix de guerre,* I decided to return you to the place hence you came. I waited two years. Why? I am ot sure; I think it was because I did not want to o an ungracious thing. But the story of Zacchaeus n the nineteenth chapter of Luke, which has long been favorite of mine, would let me have no rest. When Zacchaeus got a new point of view he remained with is old neighbors, but he tried to right matters that ad been wrong before. So it seemed to me that in rder to be square with myself and with you too, little cross, since I had become a worker for peace and ou still remained the emblem of war, I must send you ack. The letter that follows was written. You were arefully wrapped and enclosed with it, insured and ent across the sea. I am glad that I had you, for I hink you helped me see more clearly the values which re lasting and those which are fleeting. Some day in he history of nations, decorations of honor will be bestowed only for those deeds which make for peace and love and growth. Then truly will war be outlawed.

Bureau du Personnel (Décorations)
War Department,
Paris, France.

Gentlemen:

Having become a worker for peace, I desire to return to the War Department the citation and *croix de guerre* awarded me under Marshal Pétain's orders in the World War.

It is with a spirit of love and admiration for France that I send back the decoration which I have prized greatly; but it is also with a desire that all of my relations with *la belle France* and other countries be those which spring from peaceful pursuits and lead to world friendship. Helping to keep up the morale of wounded soldiers that they might be sent back to the front to fight again is an activity in accord with a war spirit which is not mine now.

I prefer to return the *croix de guerre* rather than have it disregarded, since I have come to hate war and all its accompanying activities. May it be received in the spirit of friendship in which I return it, recognizing as I do the sincerity with which it was bestowed, and as proudly accepted.

Sincerely,

April 13, 1928. PAIX

Cryptogram

TO suffer until thought
Draws a grey blind
Over the haggard eyes
Leaving the mind

Incredibly alert,
Leaving the soul
Trapped like a wounded beast
In a dark hole—

Truly, never for these
Do priests invent
Their ludicrous conceits
Of punishment.

MARGARET TOD RITTER.

Trinity

PEACE.
Not the peace of a stagnant pool
But of deep waters flowing,
Waves quiet and cool.

Poise.
Not the poise of a sheltered tree
But of oak deeply rooted,
Storm-strengthened and free.

Power.
Not the power of a fisted might
But of quickened seed stretching,
Life, climbing toward light.

JULIET REEVE.

A German General Turns Pacifist*

GENERAL FREIHERR VON SCHOENAICH

THE question most often put to me is how I, an old Prussian officer, made the change from militarism to radical pacifism. The basis for the question, though unexpressed, is the thought that a change of attitude reflects to a certain extent a lack of character. I believe mankind today is passing through the greatest evolutionary change that has occurred in the history of the last six thousand years. Anyone who at such a time does not re-examine his former position is a fool; and if on re-examination he discovers that he has been in error or that his former beliefs do not fit into the new situation, yet does not dare to admit it, he is a coward. As answer to the above question I shall frankly describe my own development.

I was educated in the old Prussian military manner. It seemed self-evident to me that the politics of a Great Power were founded solely on its military might. My idea of history was completely dominated by the views of the pan-German historian Heinrich von Treitschke. Furthermore, we German officers always fared better than ordinary citizens if we performed our duties well. And since I was in comfortable circumstances and for the most part stationed in large cities, I can truly say that I was completely happy. It never occurred to me that this house of bliss might some day come down on my head. During the war I placed full confidence in the reports which our General Headquarters transmitted to us. I was stupid enough to believe all their lies. The collapse of the front came upon me, as to 99 per cent of the German people, as a complete surprise.

The great awakening occurred when the press was freed after the Armistice and when I began to hear voices from other lands in ungarbled utterance. The flight of the Kaiser and of the Crown Prince at the time of the greatest need of their people appeared to me so utterly disgraceful that I rapidly cast overboard all monarchical sympathies. It seemed impossible that other officers should think otherwise.

MY re-orientation was perhaps easier than that of other officers because from earliest youth I had read much and traveled widely in other countries. There was dormant in me, without my having become conscious of it, a certain democratic-pacifist spirit. I knew that there were others in the world besides German officers. I told myself that the collapse of seemingly so magnificent a structure as that of the old German Reich was explicable only through the fact that it embodied some hidden faults in construction.

The economic chaos of the post-war period occupied my closest attention. Since the victorious countries als suffered severely, I gradually came to understand th war had lost its very purpose. The technical develo ment of warfare had been so stupendous that the gam was no more worth the candle. I realized also that th close ties which bound the world together economical could not stand the enormous strain put upon them b war.

The moment I declared for the republic and for a economic, intellectual pacifism, my relations with m old comrades were changed. And when I dared to tak up the fight for my ideas in public, I was excluded fro all military organizations as a black sheep. Hencefort I had no opportunity to exchange ideas with any of m former comrades. All the warmer, however, was m welcome among other pacifists. The accession of former high officer was good publicity for them.

After I had bridged the chasm between my old an new outlook, my development proceeded apace. Ever man is to a certain extent the product of his enviro ment. I lived entirely in a pacifist world and the ignobl methods of my former comrades in their fight agains me made that which I had formerly idolized appea contemptible. The breach grew constantly wider.

IN 1922 I learned to know the ideas of that grea moralist and teacher, Professor Friedrich Wilhel Foerster. Thus I realized that pacifism is not merel an economic and political expediency, but above all matter of ethics. Step by step I penetrated into th essence of pacifism in its larger meaning. During th last eight years I have plead the cause in about 600 pub lic meetings and contributed articles to many Germa and foreign papers. I wrote eight books and the ninth is now in process.

I do not believe that the Kellogg Pact removes al danger of war because it does not clearly define th meaning of "defensive war." Still I consider the Pac a great event. If the most powerful state in the worl declares aggressive war a crime, statesmen contemplat ing aggressive war under the guise of defense will hav to step carefully. Above all, the press will have t acquaint its readers, who have thought little on these matters, with all questions relating to the Pact. The development of the technique of warfare continues s rapidly that another war would certainly put an end to practically all human culture and civilization. To fight against that I hold to be the duty of every friend of humanity.

So it happens after 37 years in the service of war I have in the last ten years become a soldier of peace.

* Translated by H. C. Engelbrecht.

Mahatma Gandhi on War

An Open Letter to Gandhi and His Reply

MOST venerated Gandhi:

Without doubt, there is no man who attracts the attention of the modern world as you do. And you are certainly worthy of this admiration because you have been able in a wise, heroic way to awaken everywhere confidence in that moral force which slumbers in each individual. To oppose the severe oppression of so-called Christian civilization, and the violence of proud and pretentious Westerners, you have awakened in the East immense spiritual forces, making it seem that Christ reigns over your "pagan" world rather than in our official Christian churches. You have not only proclaimed the gospel of non-resistance—or spiritual warfare—but you have yourself practiced it and have paid with your own person.

I am one of those Europeans who are profoundly grateful to you for your actions. Formerly pastor in a Dutch Protestant Church, I defended, in the name of Christ, moral combat as the only form of combat which suits man's true character; and I continued to do so when the Great War threatened our country on all sides.

I am all the more grateful to you because, having separated myself from the church whose spirit in my opinion had become too narrow, I have collaborated for several years in the international anti-military movement. This movement as you know works against war and for the emancipation of all colored people and all oppressed races and classes.

Everywhere, most venerated Gandhi, you arouse admiration. In many circles you are considered the legitimate successor of Tolstoi because you have affirmed that true patriotism cannot have hatred and massacre as its basis, but only love, which is the source of life and not of death.

NEVERTHELESS, when I recently examined the introduction to your book "Speeches and Writings," published at Madras by Mr. C. F. Andrews, allow me to say that I was greatly disillusioned. The information given by Mr. Andrews in regard to your attitude during the World War obliges me to state that it is not right to consider you the moral successor of Tolstoi. While he was above all a super-nationalist, you, Gandhi, have remained consciously a nationalist. Tolstoi subordinated the interests of his country to the essential needs of humanity. On the other hand, you, at a most critical moment in the history of the world, subordinated the essential needs of humanity to what you considered the supreme interests of India..

You have, to be sure, several times condemned violence in the admirable book of which I am speaking. You declared that according to the Oriental conception politics cannot be separated from religion and that true religion is nothing but the practice of love in daily life. You set forth the idea that the English conquerors of India should be themselves conquered by the strength of soul, by the spiritual strength of the Indians, and that the true and best way to serve one's country is to serve humanity. You urged your compatriots to take into their hearts the sublime life which shines out of the soul of Buddha as well as from the spirit of Tolstoi. You explained that *ahimsa* signified not only not to kill anyone but not even to offend anyone. And you praised more than once the strength of those who refuse to use any form of violence.

But during the Great War when in every country conscientious objectors to this bloody and fratricidal struggle were being shut up in gloomy prisons or killed, when in Europe, America, and Asia small groups and even isolated individuals were striving in spite of the greatest difficulties to remain faithful to the cause of humanity, where were you, Gandhi, Prophet of Non-violence? What were you doing in the Orient while these men and women of the West were struggling in their countries against a mad public opinion, against tyrannic governments and inhuman authorities?

MR. ANDREWS tells us that in 1914 at London you began to organize a voluntary Indian Ambulance Corps. Didn't you recall that Tolstoi himself condemned the Red Cross because it formed part of the war system? Moreover, during the cruel war of the English against the Boers, you also organized an Indian Ambulance Corps in Africa. Doesn't the fact that you received the English war medal have any significance for you? And the praise meted out to you in 1911 in the "Illustrated Star" of Johannesburg saying that during the Boer War you "simply did your duty"—was that not sufficient to make you understand that you had failed to accomplish a higher duty?

It is true that the present Red Cross owes its origin to humanitarian motives and that it has done very worthwhile work. But during the war the work of medical officers, nurses, and stretcher bearers, indeed all ambulance service, is entirely subordinated to strategic interests. Last year the Dutch Government decided to have all the nurses of the Netherlands registered in order to enroll them in advance for ambulance service in case of another war. But there was strong opposition to the movement and a number of nurses

declared that they would participate in no way in the military system, not even as Red Cross sisters. One section of the public couldn't understand this at all; why refuse to soften the horrible sufferings of those wounded in war? Thereupon one nurse, who from love of humanity had done ambulance service during the war in the Balkans and later on in the Great War, published in *De Wapens Neder* (The Hague) the conclusions she had reached through bitter experience: "Alas, my friends, what can the Red Cross do when hell breaks out? What can we do for the numerous wounded abandoned on the field of battle? Only a small percentage ever reach our hospitals. During the Balkan war there was a cessation of firing between battles so as to search for the wounded. But during the Great War there was nothing of the sort. The stretcher bearers themselves, concerned for their own fate, preferred to go out under cover of darkness to look for the wounded."

It is true that in 1914, in London, you were in poor health and had to go back to India almost immediately. But, once back there, you never ceased preaching loyalty to the British Empire in danger. It is not surprising that once again England rewarded you with a gold medal! This medal was also intended to sugar the bitter pill which the Indian people were to swallow. English Imperialism which was combating without mercy German Imperialism had great need of your compatriots' money and their blood. And you, who stood for non-resistance, were ready for them to give it! Apparently you had so little aversion to being an accomplice in a great collective crime that you declared at the Conference of War at Delhi in April, 1918: "I recognize that in the hour of danger we must give ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas. . . . I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment, and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favored partner in the Empire and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. . . ."

AT THIS time you left for the district of Kaira as a recruiting agent for the British Government. You even said once that the Indians should try to hasten the moment when they would be capable of defending themselves: "We wish for the time when we may aspire to the Vice-regal office. It, therefore, behooves us to learn the use of arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible despatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the Army. . . ."

How could you do that, Gandhi, you who stand for fraternity and moral resistance? How could you take sides with your adversaries and leave in the lurch all those people in the world who were fighting for your ideas? How could you repeat so often throughou the universal carnage that soon the British Empir which the war would have freed from militarism, woul give your country independence and liberty? Th seems like a blood spot on the immaculate whitene of your robe. Therefore we are disquieted. And w understand why Mr. Andrews, who respects and love you profoundly, has declared that he could not explai this flagrant contradiction in your conduct which yo have never really justified.

HOWEVER, let us leave the past. The questio now is the future. I come to you, Gandhi, i the name of the thousands of men and women of th West, who, captivated by the loftiness of your word and the grandeur of your exemplary actions, are com bating violence throughout the so-called civilize world; who are laboring for the emancipation of a human races. In this fight to prevent war and destruc tion, we need you and the collaboration of millions o Indians and Asiatics. *In the future, at the decisive mo ment, can we count on you?* Are you, and the power ful masses which follow you, sufficiently disillusione by the false promises of imperialistic governments t be ready to march at our sides when the supreme hou comes, against every armed imperialism including tha of your own government, in order to prevent new mas sacres and terrible bloodshed?

More and more the world is threatened with a wa of continent against continent, of race against race, war which would destroy humanity. Therefore Gandhi, examine this question seriously, meditate upo it, and reply. If we can count on you, if we know and if all the world knows, that you stand on the sid of the war resisters, you will then become one of th most powerful factors capable of guiding humanity to ward that peace which you evoke so magnificently.

Like that European, who called on the Apostle Pau in a dream to come from Asia to Europe and preac the principles of that spiritual combat which would alter the face of the world, we call on you, Gandhi we who are deeply affected by the misery of the presen age, earnestly invite you to join in a moral alliance which nothing could sever, not even a new world war and which would everywhere prepare the reign of peace and liberty that all the peoples of the world long for

Convinced that you will give importance to the spiri rather than to the letter in these pages, I dare hop that you will take my request to heart and that afte having meditated upon it, you will make reply publicly setting forth clearly to everyone your position with re gard to the fight against all war.

I beg you to believe, dear and venerated Gandhi that I am,

Yours most sincerely and respectfully,

(Signed) B. DE LIGT

Onex, Geneva, May, 1928.

My Attitude Toward War

(GANDHI'S REPLY)

REV. B. DE LIGT has written a long open letter to me which strongly criticises my participation in the Boer War and then the Great War of 914 and invites me to explain my conduct in the light f *ahimsa*. Other friends too have put the same ques- on, and I am glad to give the explanation in these olumns.

There is no defence for my conduct weighed only the scales of *ahimsa*. I draw no distinction between hose who wield the weapons of destruction and those ho do Red Cross work. Both participate in war and dvance its cause. Both are guilty of the crime of ar. But even after introspection during all these ears, I feel that in the circumstances in which I found yself I was bound to adopt the course I did both uring the Boer War and the Great European War nd for that matter the so-called Zulu "Rebellion" of Natal in 1906.

Life is governed by a multitude of forces. It would e smooth sailing, if one could determine the course of ne's actions only by one general principle whose ap- lication at a given moment was too obvious to need ven a moment's reflection. But I cannot recall a single ct which could be so easily determined.

Being a confirmed war resister I have never given yself training in the use of destructive weapons in pite of opportunities to take such training. It was erhaps thus that I escaped direct destruction of human ife. But so long as I lived under a system of Govern- ment based on force and voluntarily partook of the many facilities and privileges it created for me, I was ound to help that Government to the extent of my ability when it was engaged in a war unless I non- ooperated with that Government and renounced to the utmost of my capacity the privileges it offered me.

LET me take an illustration. I am a member of an institution which holds a few acres of land whose crops are in imminent peril from monkeys. I believe in the sacredness of all life and hence I regard it as a breach of *ahimsa* to inflict any injury on the monkeys. But I do not hesitate to instigate and direct an attack on the monkeys in order to save the crops. I would like to avoid this evil. I can avoid it by leav- ing or breaking up the institution. I do not do so be- cause I do not expect to be able to find a society where there will be no agriculture and therefore no destruc- tion of some life. In fear and trembling, in humility and penance, I therefore participate in the injury in- flicted on the monkeys, hoping some day to find a way out.

Even so did I participate in the three acts of war. I could not, it would be madness for me to sever my connection with the society to which I belong. And on those three occasions I had no thought of non-co- operating with the British Government. My position regarding that Government is totally different today and hence I should not voluntarily participate in its wars and I should risk imprisonment and even the gal- lows if I were forced to take up arms or otherwise take part in its military operations.

But that still does not solve the riddle. If there were a national Government, whilst I should not take any direct part in any war I can conceive occasions when it would be my duty to vote for the military training of those who wish to take it. For I know that all its members do not believe in non-violence to the extent I do. It is not possible to make a person or a society non-violent by compulsion.

Non-violence works in a most mysterious manner. Often a man's actions defy analysis in terms of non- violence; equally often his actions may wear the ap- pearance of violence when he is absolutely non-violent in the highest sense of the term and is subsequently found so to be. All I can then claim for my conduct is that it was, in the instances cited, actuated in the in- terests of non-violence. There was no thought of sor- did national or other interest. I do not believe in the promotion of national or any other interest at the sacrifice of some other interest.

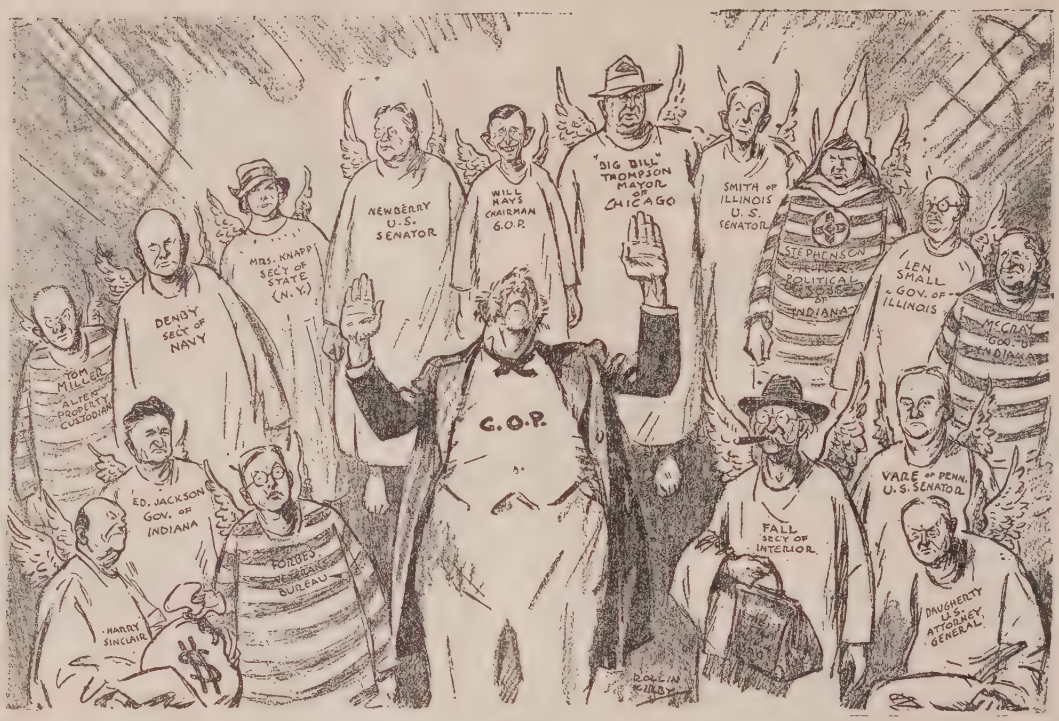
I MAY not carry my argument any further. Language at best is but a poor vehicle for expressing one's thoughts in full. For me non-violence is not a mere philosophical principle. It is the rule and the breath of my life. I know I fail often, sometimes consciously, more often unconsciously. It is a matter not of the intellect but of the heart. True guidance comes by constant waiting upon God, by utmost humility, self- abnegation, by being ever ready to sacrifice one's self. Its practice requires fearlessness and courage of the highest order. I am painfully aware of my failings.

But the Light within me is steady and clear. There is no escape for any of us save through truth and non-violence. I know that war is wrong, is an unmiti- gated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom. Would that all the acts alleged against me were found to be wholly indefensible rather than that by any act of mine non-violence was held to be compromised or that I was ever thought to be in favor of violence or untruth in any shape or form. Not violence, not untruth but non-violence. Truth is the law of our being.

M. K. GANDHI

Grounds for Pacifism

However useful as a symbol the League of Nations may be, the only thing that can break war, in the final issue, is the individual's absolute refusal to take part in it under any pretext whatever.—EDGAR SAXON, M.A., *Editor of "The Healthy Life."*


NEWBERRY U.S. SENATOR
WILL HAYS CHAIRMAN G.O.P.
"BIG BILL" THOMPSON MAYOR OF CHICAGO
SMITH OF ILLINOIS U.S. SENATOR
MRS. KNAPP SECY OF STATE (N.Y.)
DENBY SECY OF NAVY
TOM MILLER ALIEN PROPERTY CUSTODIAN
STEPHENSON POLITICAL BOSS OF INDIANA
LEN SMALL GOV. OF ILLINOIS
McCRAY GOV. OF INDIANA
C.O.P.
ED. JACKSON GOV. OF INDIANA
FORBES VETERANS BUREAU
HARRY SINCLAIR
FALL SECY OF INTERIOR
VARE OF PENN. U.S. SENATOR
DAUGHERTY U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL

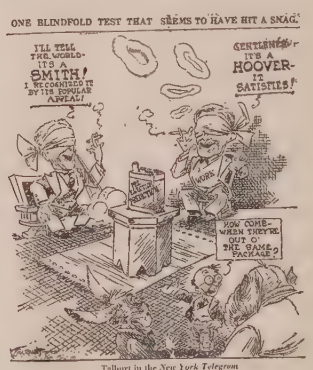
"TAMMANY"

—Rollin Kirby in the *New York World*

Talburt in the *New York Telegram*

Terribly Embarrassing When You're Out With Your New Girl.

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

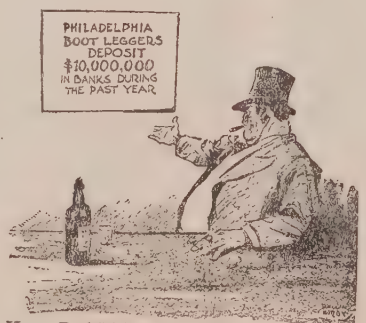

ONE BLINDFOLD TEST THAT SEEMS TO HAVE HIT A SNAG.
I'LL TELL THE WORLD— IT'S A SMITH! I RECOGNIZED IT BY ITS POPULAR APPEAL!
GENTLEMEN— IT'S A HOOVER— IT SATISFIES!
HOW CAN— WHEN THEY'RE OUT OF THE SAME PACKAGE?

Talburt in the *New York Telegram*

WELL, I SEE WOOLEY, DOUGLAS MURRAY BUTLER, SAID WE CAN DEPEND ON AL TO CARRY OUT THE LAW AS PRESIDENT JULY 31, 1928 AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK PRETTY GOOD EH
NEW YORK "SPEAK EASY"

IF NEW YORK IS A FAIR SAMPLE

—*New York Herald Tribune*



How Prohibition Works in the City of Brotherly Love.

—*New York World*

ITALIAN SARCASM

THE AMERICAN DOLLAR: "It doesn't matter who wins the election, I am the real President of the United States."

—*Guerin Meschino* (Milan).

Why I Shall Vote for Norman Thomas

KIRBY PAGE

THE trend toward further consolidation of financial and economic power in the hands of a relatively small percentage of the population constitutes one of the most important problems now confronting the American people. Is this country to be ruled by a financial oligarchy, or shall we have genuine democracy in politics and industry, in education and journalism, in religion and all of life? Here is the paramount issue in the present political campaign.

Humanity has always found it necessary to limit the degree of power wielded by individuals and groups, or pay for its neglect in terms of exploitation and strife. No individual is good enough and wise enough to be entrusted with irresponsible power over the lives of others. Could kings or priests or slave-owners be trusted to do the right thing for those over whom they had absolute power? Sometimes, but not as a rule; partly because so many autocrats are callous and cruel, but much more because it is almost impossible to be sufficiently sensitive and discerning to understand clearly the point of view of those persons who are within one's power. Kings have often been benevolent—as long as they were permitted to dwell in luxurious mansions and were rendered obedience and reverence. Many masters were kind—as long as the slaves were content with bondage.

IN an industrial civilization money is power, power over the lives of others. In a pioneer community money is less significant because each family is practically independent or is able to obtain necessities by the process of trade and barter. In great urban communities, however, specialization of labor and the factory system have completely destroyed the independence of the individual or family. Most necessities must be purchased and this requires money. Moreover, mass production has deprived the worker of his tools, which means that the factory hand is utterly dependent upon others for his job. And so the health and happiness of his family are constantly at the mercy of those who control industry.

There is more concentration of financial power in this country than is ordinarily realized. It is true, of course, that the general standard of living is much higher than ever before and that the number of investors has greatly increased. The statement frequently appears that there are 15 million stockholders in the United States. Mr. Joseph S. McCoy, actuary of the United States Treasury, has recently pointed out, however, that after due allowance is made for the fact that some individuals own stock in many scores or hundreds of corporations, there are only three million different stockholders and one million bondholders. That is to say, 84 per cent of the 25 million families in this country own no stocks or bonds whatever.

Furthermore, only a small proportion of the 16 per cent that does own stocks or bonds exercises any direct share in the control of the corporations in which they have invested. Some of the larger corporations have from 100,000 to 400,000 stockholders, but less than one-half of one per cent participates actively in the determination of the policies of a given concern. The conservative *Washington Post* published an article some months ago which stated that 20,000 directors control corporations which produce half of the manufactured products of this country. It is well within the truth to say that a small group of 100,000 investors, bankers, and industrialists holds the balance of power in determining the economic and financial policies of this country. This same group also exercises incalculable influence in politics, journalism, education, organized religion, and other phases of modern life. Moreover, its power is steadily increasing. Big business is in the saddle.

THIS is as it should be, in the opinion of many citizens. Those who have the most brains and the highest character should be in control. But are we sure that concentration of wealth is due to brains and character? In some cases, yes; in most cases, no. Hard work, thriftiness, good management and a touch of genius are responsible for some great fortunes. Many more have been derived from monopolistic or predominant control of natural resources and water-power; or from speculation and gambling. A single illustration will indicate the source of many fortunes. An original investment of $10,000 in General Motors stock in 1908 would have netted the purchaser $292,880 in cash dividends by the middle of 1928 and could have been sold at that time for $1,600,000. From $10,000 to $1,892,880 in twenty years! An increase of 18,900 per cent! Is it seriously maintained that wealth of this kind is due to the brains or character of the investor? It was socially created by the united efforts of vast numbers of people and privately appropriated.

Furthermore, even if it could be demonstrated that a financial oligarchy is the best form of government, the evidence is clear that it cannot survive indefinitely. One after another the autocracies of the past have been demolished. True enough, new ones have emerged. But they also will be toppled in the dust. It may be

that democracy is cumbersome and ineffective, but the citizens of this country will never be content to give it up, or more accurately, will never be satisfied until they fully achieve it. The effort to perpetuate autocracy or oligarchy will sooner or later lead to an explosion. In a country where universal education is obligatory, where periodically the citizens are reminded of the inalienable rights of democracy, and where a billion dollars per year is spent in advertising in order to create new wants and desires—in such a land the mass of workers will not permanently tolerate a system which skims off millions for a few at the top and leaves a bare livelihood for the masses at the bottom. Drastic changes are imperatively needed. Because I am a pacifist and am opposed to all violence, I expect to vote for Norman Thomas.

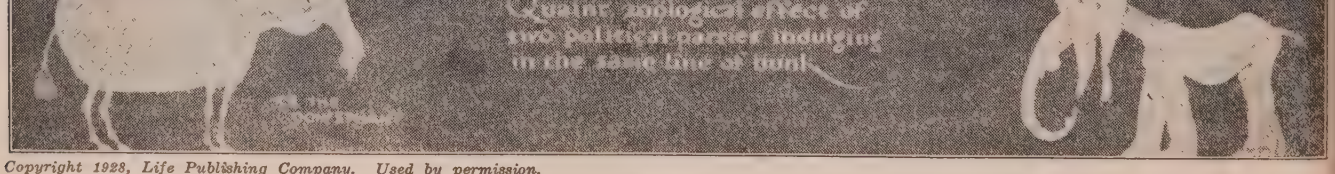
WHAT are the necessary devices if the change from oligarchy to genuine democracy is to be made peaceably? They seem to me to include the following: organization of the workers in nation-wide unions in order that they may be better able to bargain on equal terms with gigantic corporations; social aid for the underpriviliged groups by means of the minimum wage and family wage, as well as by a comprehensive program of social insurance, covering unemployment, old age, sickness, accidents, maternity cases, widows and orphans; funds for the foregoing to be secured by sharply graduated taxation of the larger incomes and inheritances; public ownership and scientific development of natural resources and waterpower; social control of credit and banking; public regulation of corporations; encouragement of the consumers' coöperative movement; and economic coöperation with other nations, looking toward a progressive reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers.

If these are the major issues in the present campaign, for whom shall we vote? It seems quite obvious that if these were considered the determinative factors one would not vote for Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover would himself be the first to say so. Not only has he written a book on individualism, his whole philosophy of life rests upon this foundation. He is opposed to public ownership of natural resources and public utilities and wants to get the Government out of business. He looks with abhorrence on a public system of unemployment insurance and the limitation of great fortunes by taxation. Moreover, and this is far more impo tant, the Republican party is the instrument of reacti in American politics. It has long been at the extre right, all six of the other parties being to its left.

Shall we, then, cast our ballots for Al Smith? I s no adequate reason why we should. He is more liber than Hoover and has an impressive record of soci legislation for the protection of women and children to his credit. He is in favor of public ownership of th waterpower still in the hands of the Federal Gover ment and the states, but has endorsed the practice o private distribution of power and has given no eviden of desiring to restore to public ownership the wate sites already alienated to private hands. He is silen on unemployment insurance and is not advocating th use of taxation as a means of curbing financial autoc racy. On the agricultural question he is distinctly mor favorable to the demands of the progressive bloc bu has not committed himself to the equalization fee.

Governor Smith, it must be remembered, is the Dem ocratic candidate and is surrounded by conservative an reactionary colleagues and supporters. Many of the wealthiest and most conservative men of the country are backing him and footing the bills of his campaign The Solid South has long been the backbone of the Democratic party and the South is exceedingly conservative on economic questions. The Democrats have now adopted a position on the tariff which is almost identical with that of their major opponent, in spite of the bitter denunciation historically heaped upon the protective principle. They are now leaning over backward in seeking to curry favor with big business. Concerning this point, a writer in *Nation's Business,* official publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, says: "The two major parties have divided on no major economic issues." *The Christian Science Monitor* points out that "for the first time in more than a quarter of a century neither party seems to fear big business." And what is more, big business does not fear either party. "There is no more difference in the two platforms," says Will Rogers, "than there is in two musical shows. How could there be? They are both catering to the same voters."

IF economic questions are determinative and the choice were confined to Hoover or Smith, I would cast my ballot for the latter. But I would not be opti-



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istic concerning any marked change in the attitude of he Government toward financial and industrial prob-ems. Big business will remain in the saddle regardless f who wins this election. Unfortunately there is no ay a progressive or radical can avoid throwing his ote away in the present campaign, that is, if immediate conomic results are the criterion.

If international questions were to determine my hoice between Hoover and Smith, I would vote for the tter, although the former is a Quaker and is the most raveled candidate we have ever had. Hoover does ot maintain the orthodox Quaker position with regard o war and has taken pains to emphasize the fact that is convictions would in no way disqualify him as com-hander-in-chief of the army and navy. His position n preparedness is so satisfactory to military men that uch stalwarts as Hanford MacNider and Rear Ad-hiral Fiske are stumping the country or writing vigor-usly in his behalf. The latter sounds the alarm gainst Democratic "pacifism." Mr. Hoover has en-lorsed the foreign policy of the present administration, ncluding intervention in Nicaragua and the perpetua-ion of the policy of using marines for the protection of American rights and property in other lands. The fact hat Mr. Hoover is widely traveled is less important han that he is an imperialist who believes in the use of rmed force in defense of commerce and investments. He stands upon the record of his party that is opposed o setting a date for Filipino independence. In spite of the fact that he signed the famous round robin urg-ng the country to vote for Harding as the quickest and urest way to get the United States into the League of Nations, he has kept silent all these years since and is ow opposed to our entrance.

Governor Smith has had little experience with for-ign affairs and seems less interested in them than in lomestic questions. He has expressed himself in oppo-ition to the demands of the big navy advocates and as endorsed the World Court. The Democratic plat-form condemns intervention in Nicaragua and favors mmediate independence for the Philippines. The party ecord in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Mexico, however, s quite as bad as that of the Republicans in Nicaragua. The platform and the candidate are silent or extremely autious with regard to the League and the World Court. Both parties have endorsed the Kellogg treaty, although the Democrats are very vague in their utter-ance. Both believe in armed intervention on behalf of American rights and property.

If prohibition were the determinative issue and the choice limited to the Secretary or the Governor, I would vote for Hoover. There is no disguising the fact that Al Smith is dripping wet and always has been. He fought for the saloon as long as it seemed politically wise to do so and has consistently opposed prohibition throughout his career. It is true that he would be pow-erless to change the law, but his election would be hailed as a repudiation of prohibition by the country and would lead to worse chaos than now prevails. But I would not be at all optimistic as to the success of Mr. Hoover's efforts at enforcement. Some years ago he favored the sale of 2.75 per cent beer. Just what his present attitude is toward changes in the Volstead Act has not been revealed. A party that will put a former investor in distillery stock, who is himself opposed to prohibition, in charge of enforcement and keep him there for eight years does not intend to enforce the law. Rock-ribbed Republican Philadelphia is as wet as Democratic New York. Calvin Coolidge has many times endorsed prohibition as vigorously as has Herbert Hoover. To subordinate other issues to prohibition with the expectation of honest enforcement from another Republican administration seems to me to be political blindness, in view of the record of the past eight years.

IF the election were to be decided on the issue of honesty and integrity in public office, I would be puzzled to know how to vote. Both Hoover and Smith are men of absolute personal integrity; both are surrounded with unsavory associates. The notoriety of Tammany has penetrated to the far corners of the earth and has been earned. As one who has lived in New York City for a dozen years, I would be the last to underestimate its significance. But is there any more graft in New York than in Chicago or Philadelphia or a dozen other Republican cities? And when it comes to state and national politics the record of the Republicans is even worse than that of their major opponent. Consider Indiana and Illinois and Pennsylvania!

To the claim that Boss Vare and Big Bill are not running for the Presidency, the counter-claim may be made that neither is Tammany. If it is fair to load Smith with the sins of Tammany, how can Hoover be excused from responsibility for the crimes and betrayals of his fellow Republican cabinet members and other pillars of the party? If the Governor has praised Tammany and ignored its gross corruption, Hoover has lauded the present Republican administration in these glowing words: "The record of these seven and one-half years constitutes a period of rare courage in leadership and constructive action. Never has a political party been able to look back upon a similar period with more satisfaction." Rare courage! Fall, Hays, Vare, Smith, Forbes, Daugherty! Unparalleled satisfaction! The record of both major parties smells unto high heaven! And both candidates talk earnestly of party responsibility!

Consequently, I do not care to throw my vote away by voting for either Hoover or Smith. So keenly do I feel with regard to this point that I have devoted a disproportionate share of my space in emphasizing the

futility of relying upon either of the major parties. I prefer to cast my ballot for Norman Thomas as a protest against the prevailing system of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. And much more in the hope that he will receive a sufficiently large vote to encourage progressives and radicals to buckle down to the long and laborious task of creating a new party based on economic realities. If the five million liberals who voted for La Follette would stick together and if they were joined by all those who are sick unto death of the hypocrisy and sham which characterize the major parties, it would be possible within say sixteen or twenty years to build a party which would grapple seriously with the growing menace of financial and industrial autocracy and pave the way for a functioning democracy in all realms of life. Opportunism is the deadliest enemy of political progress. Every four years of delay sees big business more deeply entrenched.

FORTUNATELY, the Socialist platform and candidate are such as to deserve the enthusiastic support of liberals and radicals. The devices outlined in this platform and so ably interpreted by Norman Thomas seem to me to be indispensable to a peaceable transformation of the present social order. The surest way to bring about violent revolution is to attempt to perpetuate the reign of a financial oligarchy. It was the czars not the Bolsheviks, who produced the Russian revolution. Sooner or later reaction leads to violence. The Communist party is frankly preparing for the day when it will overthrow the present system by violence. Communists look upon Norman Thomas as an impotent and blind leader of the blind. Indeed, he has suffered far more bitter revilement from their hands than from conservatives. Because I am a pacifist and repudiate all war, including the class war, and because drastic changes in the existing order are essential, I expect to support that party which offers most promise of accomplishing the desired result by pacific and constitutional means.

I expect, therefore, to vote for Norman Thomas because of the clearness of his vision, the soundness of his judgment, the evenness of his temper, the courage which he displays, the utter unselfishness of his life, the cause for which he stands, and the methods which he advocates. Twenty years from now he will be as highly honored in this country as Keir Hardie and the other founders of the British Labour Party are revered in England today.

Social Insurance—An Approach to a New Order

I. M. RUBINOW

WHAT is the most damning indictment of the present economic order, particularly in our day and generation, particularly in God's own country—the richest country of the world and in the world's history?

A good many charges may be brought up, according to one's temperament and one's political and ethical convictions: the gross materialism of our life, the flagrant disregard of ethical and religious standards and ideals, the appalling increase of crime and of mental disorders, the exploitation of one man by another, the low level of intellectual, cultural and esthetic aspirations, and, last but not least, the unequal and inequitable distribution of nation's wealth and nation's income.

And yet, in their gravity, in their immediate responsibility for human unhappiness, none of them are as revolting as our failure to abolish poverty, not comparative poverty and want which may cause a great deal of unhappiness, but absolute, fundamental poverty—a genuine insufficiency of the necessities for a minimum standard of health and decency—the poverty from which a substantial proportion of our population suffers always even in times of plenty and more acutely in times of economic depression such as we are going through today.

While actual measurements of the extent of such poverty are lacking, only those who wilfully close their eyes to the realities of the present order can doubt its existence. The constant appeals for private philanthropy, organized and unorganized, offer an eloquent illustration. Such data as exist indicate that annually perhaps a hundred thousand families in this country are forced to appeal to charitable organizations for relief, and a much greater number suffers without making such appeals. Surely, a people which registers each year an increase in its national wealth, measured in nine or ten digits, can hardly claim with a straight face that this misery is socially inevitable.

Can we abolish poverty? Can we abolish its causes? Ten or fifteen years ago, in the heyday of the movement for progressive social legislation in this country, we felt a little surer of our ability to put our finger on causes of poverty than we do today. In the field of social thought, the last decade may be characterized

imarily by an effort to substitute psychology and sychiatry for economics and social reform. Where teen years ago we had a flood of books on causes poverty and methods of overcoming it, we have w substituted an even greater torrent of studies of rsonality, personal inadequacy, personal adjustment. o one questions the importance of this progress in e study of the human psyche, human personality, man conduct, during the last ten years. Behavior-m, Freudianism, mental hygiene—whatever the form this new movement, the results have been substan-al. Man ceases being a statistical unit. He becomes comprehensive complex of forces, all of which must studied in an effort to increase the sum total of man satisfactions.

Nevertheless, when you examine into the causes that rive people into poverty, misery and distress, you are ound to find, no matter how fond you may be of psy-nology, psychiatry and psycho-analysis, that back of are death and sickness and invalidity and accidental juries and perhaps the greatest scourge of all—un-mployment of the healthy and able. Those are the azards of the modern economic order.

WE are primarily an industrial country. Of the 45 million persons employed, more or less, only ne-fourth are employed in agriculture and of these nly some 15 per cent are independent farmers. Of ne 33 million persons employed in industry, commerce, ining and professions, perhaps 30 million are wage orkers. The basis of economic existence is a salary r a wage. Security of life depends upon continuance n the flow of this income, and anything that interrupts r stops it must spell disaster. The breadwinner dies nd many children may be left without means of sup-ort. The breadwinner falls ill or is injured and for he time being the situation is equally grave. A lin-ering illness, chronic invalidity, old age—all these reate conditions that economically at least may be ven worse than the death of a breadwinner. And ver and above these biologic catastrophes, or per-aps it would be more correct to say in addition to all f them, there is the ever present possibility of nemployment.

Death, accident, disease, invalidity, old age, all of hese hazards with the single exception of unemploy-nent, are conditions which the insurance method has o effectively been handling for many decades in this s well as other countries. It would seem unnecessary or a social reformer to argue as to their insurability. A hundred thousand agents, more or less, are doing t day in day out. The volume of insurance in this ountry in these and related fields has reached gigantic proportions and continues to grow from day to day. nsurance has already accomplished wonders in stabil-zing business, in protecting the great middle class. A private American insurance company has already reached the dignity of being the greatest financial institution in the world. Why, then, has social insurance had so little development in America?

IN a sense, all insurance is social, of course, but, technically, social insurance is a convenient term to draw the line of distinction as against private insurance. It deserves this dignified appellation of "social" because it is intended to cover the larger masses—those who are unable to make sufficient provision through private insurance; because it implies a legislative or social effort; because usually it requires a governmental or social participation in the cost; and, finally, because, in the vast majority of cases, it eliminates the element of profit. It is due to all these factors that social insurance frequently appears "dangerous" to employers, to private insurance interests, to taxpayers, to Babbitts in general. Yet the fact that the largest insurance company in the world, which is also the largest financial institution in the world, has voluntarily relinquished the profit element through mutualization would seem to be a strong argument that profit-making—legitimate as it may be in many lines of business—is not a necessary factor in insurance.

Time was some twenty years ago, when agitation for social insurance was just beginning in this country, and European precedents, experience and examples had to be relied upon exclusively. That time is fortunately gone. An energetic and enthusaistic movement by all progressive forces has resulted in the rapid development of at least one branch of social insurance in this country, namely, compensation for industrial accidents. Beginning with the earliest acts of 1911, fifty acts are already in force covering practically the entire country with the exception of two or three backward southern states. It is estimated that perhaps two hundred million dollars a year annually is paid out by business and industry to injured workmen and their survivors.

When Jim Mulligan, the structural iron worker, misses his footing and plunges fifty stories downward to an untimely demise, nothing may compensate Mrs. Mulligan and the little Mulligans for the emotional loss sustained; but at least there is no economic distress accompanying that emotional loss—at least not in the states where workmen's compensation for industrial accidents is fairly generous and just, as, for instance, in New York or California. It is recognized that society has a decided interest in protecting the survivors, or Mulligan himself, if he is only injured or incapacitated for a few months or perhaps for life. The social and economic responsibilities are universally recognized. Hardly anyone is willing now to admit opposition to the principle of workmen's compensation—even those who fought it so strenuously twenty years ago.

But the old prejudices and absurdities are still

brought forth when a plea is made for a similarly sensible, equitable and economical system of handling the identical family situation if it is caused by a non-occupational accident (25,000 persons are killed in the United States annually by automobiles alone) or by disease. Practically every civilized country in Europe and a good many other continents have social health insurance. The United States remains the only glaring exception. We perhaps do not realize that the economic loss resulting from illness is at least five or six times as great as that due to industrial accidents.

And what about old age? For twenty years the problem of old age and superannuation has been studied in this country by government, state, and private organizations. Recently, a report emanating from private sources disclosed the fact that some 40 per cent of persons over 65 years of age reach their old age without having saved anything, without an income, and dependent either upon their children or upon charity for support.

There remains perhaps the greatest hazard of modern industrial life, one that is much more dependent upon industrial organization—unemployment. Always with us to some extent, it rises every now and then to enormous proportions. Where and when the extent is fairly normal, some individual provision for it can be made. Surely, not all unemployed immediately suffer distress, immediately become applicants for charitable relief. There are the accumulated savings of the working masses that can be drawn upon. Nevertheless, every period of unemployment in this country results in increased mendicancy, increased applications to charitable organizations, both private and public, increased crime, disease, and general demoralization. A sum total of social results which surely is much graver than the presumed demoralizing effect of the English so-called dole system.

THE social insurance movement in Europe has a history of nearly fifty years. Because it began in central Europe, it was for some time considered specifically Teutonic, a fact which offered a convenient though thoroughly dishonest argument against it during the active propaganda for social insurance in 1915-18 in this country. Somewhat slowly in the beginning but more rapidly as time went on, it spread to the Latin and Slavic countries, and to the British Isles. The development was substantial on the eve of the European war, but the last ten years since the conclusion of the war have resulted in a greater social insurance throughout the world than for the thirty years preceding the war.

During the period of active propaganda for social insurance in this country, say from 1911 to 1918, the term became fairly well known. Then came the reaction and today it has a "dangerous" connotation. As, during the war, it was frequently identified wi pro-German sympathies, so now it may be easily d missed as Bolshevism. And yet, the principle itself h been steadily gaining in this country. I have alread referred to workmen's compensation which has becon practically universal throughout the United State even though most of the laws are still inadequate to coverage and the amount of compensation grante and depend upon unsatisfactory methods of admini tration. Moreover, through the back door of phila thropy and public relief, mothers' and widows' assi tance funds have sprung up throughout the countr Many millions of dollars annually are distributed o of public funds to widows with children on bare ev dence of death of the breadwinner and lack of othe means of support—a method perhaps less satisfactor either from a social or actuarial point of view than i surance, but nevertheless representing the applicatio of the same principle of social responsibility. Larg corporations are forced to provide their employee with protection in case of illness. Superannuatio funds are established. A few unemployment system have sprung up here and there by voluntary coopera tion of employers and employees. Numerically, th sum total of all these independent isolated exper ments is not very large, but they are interesting pr marily as evidence of need, as experiments provin desirability, as propaganda for the general principle.

However, too much hope should not be placed o these voluntary efforts. The problem of the hazard enumerated above is not limited to this or that indus trial group. It is a problem for all the thirty millio wage workers. The poverty resulting from such haz ards is the gravest national problem that confronts us and European experience has amply demonstrated tha only on national lines through legislative action ca such systems of social insurance be effectivel organized.

PRACTICALLY, what does social insurance mean It means an early establishment of a comprehen sive health insurance system. It means an effort t meet the problem of old age immediately by a system of old age pensions to the needy, to be gradually re placed, or at least supplemented, by a system of com pulsory contributory old age insurance. It means ar unemployment insurance system which not only would do away with the distressing consequence of business fluctuations, but would undoubtedly help to stabilize business by preventing fluctuations in effective demand on the part of unemployed workmen. All those things have been done in Europe and only the inertia on the part of the working masses and the resistance on the part of the employing interests stand in the way of its establishment in this country.

What is the cause of this resistance? Primarily,

ar of the cost, which undoubtedly would be substan-
l, particularly when expressed in gross figures. Per-
ps compensation would have had a harder time in
ming if people had sat down and figured out the
obable cost to American industry. Two hundred
illion dollars a year does look like a formidable
ure. Can our industry, our nation afford it? It
a little difficult to discuss that question seriously when
e consider that European treasuries which have just
gun to overcome the tremendous demoralization of
e last fifteen years seem able to afford it. Nobody
ises any question whether we can afford twenty-five
illion automobiles and hundreds of millions of dol-
rs for expenditures on roads, whether we could af-
rd to place five million radios in our homes within
ss than one decade. Voluntary contributions for
aritable, religious, educational and cultural purposes
e figured at more than two billion dollars a year.
nd yet we are seriously asked to consider whether
merica can afford systematic provision for sickness,
d age, widowhood, orphanage, invalidity and unem-
oyment. Can we afford to make no such provision?
an we afford to permit the deterioration of physical
ealth and moral stamina which misery and want make
evitable, even though it be limited to only 10 per
nt of the population? And what is even more im-
ortant, can we afford the ethical risk—seeing the na-
on as a whole growing callous to the presence of
isery and want in face of our stupendous national
ealth?

Of course, there are other objections which have
een raised and will continue to be raised to a policy
f social insurance, but most of them are such trans-
arent rationalizations of petty group interests that it
ould seem hardly worth while to refute them here
f space permitted. In the face of a national prohibi-
on law, one still hears the argument that compul-
ory insurance would be against the American principle
f liberty. In the face of a tremendous complexity of
ur industrial life, one is still told that compulsory so-
ial insurance systems are too complicated to be
dapted to American conditions.

Moreover, a word of caution is necessary lest in ex-
essive enthusiasm social insurance be advanced as a
anacea for all social ills. Alone, it will not entirely
ipe out poverty. Many other factors will still re-
ain. Personality difficulties, whether they be due to
iologic heredity or gruesome mistakes in child training,
uch as the modern psychologist warns us against, will
till persist. Wage levels may still be too low. Fami-
es may still be too large. There may still remain a
eld for philanthropic effort, whether public or private;
ut that the extent of human misery can be substan-
ially reduced by this simple, well-tried method, our
wn experience in widows' pensions and compensation
mply demonstrates.

FINALLY, what about the general importance of this piece of social economic machinery in the scheme of life, in the scheme of human relationships and resulting spiritual values? I have spoken earlier of the increased extent of mental disease and disturbances as one of the serious indictments against the modern industrial economic order. Surely, the price of mass hysteria, psychasthenia, neurosis, psychosis and personality deviations is too high a price to pay even for the greatest achievements of modern civilization, though their value may be figured in thousands rather than hundreds of billions. Is the rapid progress of civilization compatible with mental health? What is the social basis of mental health anyway? As to the value of increased satisfactions which this progress makes possible, there need be no question. What, however, about the mental strain resulting from the increased strivings and responsibilities? When a noted sociologist was asked to state the first and fundamental social condition for the preservation of mental health, his answer was: "A comprehensive system of social insurance, some method of eliminating or at least reducing the uncertainties and fears that surround the life of the vast majority of people in an industrial community." Modern psychiatry emphasizes the importance of a sense of security in the preservation of a normal mental life, the pernicious effect of fears and insecurity in disturbing mental balance. When one thinks of the serious problems that face every wage earner upon whose daily work the well-being of his wife and children depends, when one thinks of the mental strain that must be his when he awakens in the morning with a fever and unable to go back to work, uncertain as to whether a serious illness may develop or whether he must face the announcement that he has lost his job, then one does not wonder at the number of nervous breakdowns, the increasing population of our state hospitals, the gray lines of worry that seem to have become a characteristic aspect of the American face. Absence of fear as to the simple necessities of life, a sense of security that one belongs and, therefore, has a claim—without these what is the value of our much vaunted civilization?

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

Those who declare that under no circumstances will they themselves take part in war are living witnesses to the practicability of lasting peace, and it would be difficult to overstate the value of their action.—R. B. WALKER, *General Secretary, Agricultural Workers' Union.*

Not in the Headlines

Chair of Islamic Culture

His Exalted Highness the Nizam has endowed a chair of Islamic culture in Tagore's school in India.

Education in Japan

A recent survey reveals the fact that 98 per cent of the children of school age in Japan are enrolled in school.

Saturday Afternoon Off

A weekly half-holiday for postal employees will be granted by the next Congress according to a prediction by Representative Kelly of Pennsylvania.

Mussolini Bans Own Books

Once more the former socialist writer, now dictator of Italy, smashes a precedent. An edict has gone forth banning all books on socialism from the libraries of the land.

Occupations for Women

Women are now engaged in 537 of the 572 occupations, according to a recent census report. Included in the list are blacksmiths, stone-cutters, longshoremen, and lighthouse keepers.

The League Acquires a Radio Station

A high-power broadcasting station to be used by the League of Nations in times of emergency is nearing completion. In war time it will be granted diplomatic inviolability.

A 522 Million Dollar Merger

When the United Light and Power Company acquired control of the American Light and Traction Company recently, public utility properties with assets in excess of 522 millions passed under a unified control.

Stockholder and Bondholders

There are about three million different stockholders and about one million bondholders in the United States, according to a report by Joseph S. McCoy, actuary of the United States Treasury, That is, 21 out of 25 million families in this country, 84 per cent, own no stocks or bonds whatever.

Pay Day in China

Salaries of civil officials of the Government in China have been set at 800 Chinese dollars (or slightly more than $400 gold) monthly for the highest class; $450 to $675 for the second class; $350 to $400 for the third class; and $80 to $180 for the fourth class. Generals are in the first class and captains in the fourth.

Why Negroes Go Communist

The National Miners' Union, recently organized in Pittsburgh chiefly under Communist leadership as a protest against the leadership of John L. Lewis, has elected William Boyce, a Negro, as its Vice-President. The Workers' Party candidate for comptroller of New York State is a Negro, Lovett Fort Whiteman. Says *Opportunity,* Negro journal, not a radical organ, of these facts: "All the while, the dominant labor group continues to discriminate against Negroes. Every union which denied membership to Negroes ten years ago, with possibly a single exception, still denies them membership."

Editor Angell

Norman Angell has become editor of *Foreign Affairs,* the Bri pacifist journal founded by E. D. Morel, and more recently ed by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

Spain Beats Us to It

Spain's Hotel Association has banished tipping. The rule also apply to restaurants and casinos, and studies are being m looking toward further extension of the prohibition.

Negro History Taught

Atlantic Christian College is inaugurating extension work Negro teachers. A course in "Negro History, Life and Lite ture" is being given by Professor C. H. Hamlin and carr regular college credit.

Platt Amendment Resented

President Machado in addressing the thirtieth annual conv tion of the United Spanish War Veterans in Havana urged Government to repeal the Platt Amendment, which was fore upon Cuba and which reduces that nation to the status of a p tectorate of the United States.

Spirit of Nash Plant Goes On

In the plant of the late "Golden Rule" Nash, increased e ciency made 10 cutters no longer necessary. Not desiring to d charge any of the department's 125 workers, a consultation abo the matter resulted in the friendly resignation of 10 men, w were given $300 each in appreciation of their share in buildi up the firm and of their sacrifice.

Think of This When You Tune In

A study of wages and hours of labor in the radio manufacturi industry has just been completed by the Bureau of Labor St tistics. It reveals that in the manufacture of receiving sets ave age and weekly earnings ranged from $13.94 for female packe and wrappers to $44.06 for male tool and die makers, the avera for all employees being $23.25. Loud speaker workers averag $22.87 and tube filament and electrical testers $20.36.

Can Pacifists Be Naturalized?

Rosika Schwimmer, the Hungarian pacifist, may not be pe mitted to become a citizen of the United States. Her first petitio was denied by a Federal District Court, since her pacifism pr vented her from taking the oath of allegiance to the United Stat without reservations. The Court of Appeals, however, reverse this decision. Now the Department of Justice has filed with th Supreme Court a brief, opposing her admission to citizenshi The brief argues that since Madame Schwimmer has "no sense nationalism" and only a cosmic consciousness of belonging to th human family, since she rejects the "fundamental principle tha our Constitution and Government must be defended by militar force, if necessary," she is undesirable as a citizen. "If ever citizen believed as she does and acted as she will, we would hav no Constitution and Government."

Some After-Thoughts on the Pact of Paris

FRANCIS P. MILLER

THE supreme value of the Kellogg Pact was psychological. That value has been almost entirely lost as far as Europe is concerned. This is due to two causes. First of all the European nations have had too bitter an experience in their relations with the United States since the war to take it for granted that the Pact is certain to be ratified by the Senate or at least to be ratified without reservations which will nullify its value. Psychological victories cannot be expected to occur in minds tinged with uncertainty or doubt. Hence uncertainty as to the Senate's action has destroyed for the time being at least the possibility of the Pact meaning for the mind of Europe what it seems to have meant for the mind of America.

The naval agreement between Great Britain and France is the other cause of the Pact's having made so little difference in the temper of European public opinion. No one yet knows exactly what the terms of this agreement are. Enough is known, however, to justify the belief that Great Britain in her desire to maintain the "*entente cordiale*" has to some extent forfeited her moral authority in relation to Europe by capitulating before the French thesis that reserves should not be counted in figuring army strength.

BUT the significance of this naval understanding is not due to its contents whatever they may be. It owes its significance to the fact that it is the first major diplomatic event since the war that has been shrouded in mystery. The governments concerned have withheld the publication of its terms. That is an omen. And it is a very bad omen. It means a reversion, if only a momentary reversion, to the spirit of 1906; and 1914 followed as the night follows the day the negotiations of that period. However honest France and Great Britain may have been in wanting to iron out their differences as a step toward naval disarmament, the manner in which these negotiations have been carried on has cast a chill over the rest of Europe. That is not the mood in which the spirit of the Kellogg Pact could operate most fruitfully.

To be sure the spokesman of the governments at the Assembly have done ample and sincere homage to the service which the United States has rendered the world in proposing such a pact to the nations. I have before me twenty pages of clippings from the addresses delivered by delegates in which the merits of the Pact are extolled. It is, however, the private opinion of many eminent European statesmen that the Pact has not contributed very much to extending the methods of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. They point out that its greatest weakness is its vague and timid reference to the pacific procedure which it prescribes. The statesmen of a very few countries, notably of Italy, make no attempt to dissimulate their scorn. What matters more is that the representatives of the South American countries have passed by the Pact in almost complete silence. Do they sense behind its guarantee of peace some new and more powerful sanction for the defense of the Monroe Doctrine?

The psychological value of the Pact has not yet been felt outside of the United States. The signing in Paris has already passed into the limbo of forgotten news. If its value for the rest of the world is to be recovered, two steps are necessary: first, ratification by the Senate, and second, action by the United States in coöperation with other nations for the purpose of organizing the peace which the pact proclaims.

THE Ninth Annual Assembly of the League of Nations (September 3-26) like several of its predecessors has made a very divided impression upon the public opinion of the world. To some it represents solid achievement in the direction of their own interests; to others it has meant further disillusionment.

Since the Peace of Versailles the one factor more than any other which has determined the mood of Europe has been the current status of the reparation claims made upon Germany. The temperature of the continent during the past ten years has varied in almost direct ratio to the existing agreement or disagreement regarding the reparations settlement. From the raging fever of the Ruhr it subsided through the Dawes Plan to just about normal and has been kept there ever since by the sweet spirit of Locarno. But the Dawes Plan was never intended to be more than a temporary measure. The moment for its revision inevitably approaches. Uncertainty takes the place of certainty; the French begin to talk incessantly about security; the spirit of Locarno is less frequently invoked and even when it is, it often fails to reappear.

THIS is the present mood of Europe and this was the mood of the Ninth Assembly. It is a long cry from the Briand of 1925 to the Briand of 1928. His address on September 10 in reply to Dr. Müller was full of pettishness. In passages it breathed a spirit which one never associates with Briand's name—a spirit which at its worst seems to say "Germans must be coerced in proportion as Germans prosper."

Irritation at Germany's assumption of self-righteousness for disarming through no virtue of her own is comprehensible, but the peace of Europe cannot be permanently assured if the attitude of France toward Germany continues to be the attitude of Briand's speech.

That is one reason for the failure of the Disarmament Commission of the Assembly. Another reason for failure is that the naval intentions of the United States remain unknown in spite of the Renunciation Treaty. All that is known is that there appears to be a growing divergence on the method of naval limitation between the policy of the United States and the agreed policies of France and Great Britain.

However discouraging the disarmament stalemate may seem to be, this year's Assembly undoubtedly has achievements to its credit in other fields which go a long way to compensate for such discouragement. Its most notable single achievement has been the preparation of model treaties for the pacific settlement of international disputes, non-aggression, and mutual assistance. There is a general act open to all nations for signature, and bilateral conventions to meet the need of special situations. The preparation of these treaties is a significant step in the task of organizing the world for peace. They are the other half of the Renunciation Treaty. The second article of that treaty provides for the pacific settlement of all disputes. These treaties outline the procedure and provide the machinery for such settlement. It is to the lasting credit of the nations belonging to the League that they have acted so promptly to make the outlawry of war idea effective. It is to be hoped that after the Senate has ratified the Kellogg Pact it will act with equal promptness to convert the noble sentiments of that document into a concrete plan for the pacific settlement of America's disputes with other nations.

One fact remains perfectly clear. Peace will not really come in Europe until the terms of Germany's payment of reparations are settled once and for all. But such a settlement is inconceivable apart from the participation of the United States. Sooner or later the United States must realize the relation that exists between reparations and war debts, or peace will not come in our time.

Would Jesus Be a Sectarian Today?*

DEVERE ALLEN

SO unpopular has sectarianism become, even among sectarians, that the only obvious reply is No.

But the obvious answer may not be the soundest; it seldom is. Perhaps no facile answer can be made because sectarianism owes its origins not merely to stubborn self-pride but to social needs not readily dismissed. The differentiation of religious groups is sometimes rooted in careers of freaks; but more often in sociological conditions not always discernible to a superficial view.

I

BUT why bring in Jesus? Sects existed thousands of years before his time and they have divided and reproduced, like so many amoebas, in the ensuing centuries.

I am one of that increasing multitude who, while revering him as a person in many ways unique among mankind, are unable to accept any of the supernatural attributes or episodes associated with his story. Historical research, especially in recent years, has clarified much of the obscurity with which his record is surrounded. But even among scholars there are sharp differences which only reinforce the view that the evangelists who compiled the gospels are unknown persons, depending largely on second-hand information, ignorant of historical method, and evidencing the natural bias of their enthusiams.

Nevertheless, the impact of his life and legend has been incalculably great. While millions profess to be his followers, he will always have importance. And whatever happens to the church that bears his name, there will always be those sensitive to beauty, color and strength of spirit thus speaking out of the past, to guarantee him perpetuity.

He is still the light of the world, throbbing with reality, incomparable. Conveyed by the potent charm of his resonant personality, his principles, if sturdily followed, would demand that we moderate the clangor of our declamatory propagandism, would turn the clear acid of nobility over our fools' gold, would penetrate with bright poesy our tawdry sectarian prepossessions.

Jesus' principles are not immutable; some day they may be excelled, who knows? But their value when applied to our society is clear even to many non-religious students of social problems. For their application by avowed religious sects, where could such students turn? To the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists, the Methodists, the Quakers, the Baptists, the Catholics, the Disciples?

In what respects may one derive authentic light from

* First of a series of twelve provocative articles by the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW, discussing *Would Jesus Be a Christian Today?* Copyright, 1928, THE WORLD TOMORROW. Reproduction permitted up to 300 words.

e Hepzibah Faith Association, let us say, in comparion to the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarians? Or not from these, from which one of the two hundred so denominations that possess more truth than all the others?

Our question is not, after all, Would Jesus Be a ectarian Today, but rather, Would Jesus Be—for exnple—a Winebrennerian? "Heaven forbid!" exaim a multitude of voices—all, in fact, save those of e Winebrennerians themselves. Substitute *ad libitum* ny denomination you choose—for instance, your own any. There will be a chorus also, and, it may be, ven you will join it.

Can the inquiry rest merely at this point? Would esus, now the centuries have wrought their changes, e a devotee of modern Judaism? Would he be a Hindu? A Confucianist? A Mohammedan? A Buddist?

Would he be a Christian? Not only in respect to ectarianism but to other current social issues, that is line of questioning on which the writers of this series ope at least to start fresh thought among their readrs. They beg to be exculpated from any purpose to upply a complete, convincing answer. They will not ntirely agree among themselves. Yet, as Socrates well new, there is nothing like a question to answer other uestions.

II

JESUS, clearly, could not decide without a good look at sectarianism and its works. From an exmination of our divisionism he would be able to draw onclusions. Foremost, ahead of any historical parals, must come that test.

This man of old Nazareth was at once an agitator of piritual revolution, a religious and ethical genius, a ocial innovator. Divinely careless of hollow ritual, e would warm to the skeptic rebel of the twentieth entury as he cooled to the ceremonialists of ancient Palestine. Blessed with an independent though essenially coöperative temper, he would be able to compreend the stern rectitude, the high vision, of those who, growing restless of top-heavy institutions, have withdrawn to establish more congenial instruments of reigious expression; for he, too, knew weariness from umid formalism. Yet almost instinctively religious, hinking cosmically without knowing even of a round earth or far-flung, hidden continents, would he not first assess the religious life of our now small world accordng to its achievements as a family, one in the quest for his Father's kingdom?

He would observe the human race, unwilling to pay he price of his vital all-inclusive brotherhood, franticlly concerned over the size, security, and prestige of easy substitutes. He would see nationalism triumphant, economic lines still drawn, racial segregation; and he would find religion in much the same sad case. He who countenanced no bars between the high and low, the Godly and the unregenerate, the "saved" of Israel and the outsider, would find all Christendom partitioned. His spiritual empire (leaving geography aside) though conquered by the sacrifice of thousands whose method has been good will, he would find torn by petty schisms; the land of brotherhood envisaged by the seers and sages of all time, he would find only an irredentist territory, still to be stormed and taken by uncompromising love.

In many respects he would be solaced by the headway being made. No longer do religious wars wrack the peoples of the earth. Some progress has been made in church federation, and the community church has arisen. It is probably true that responsible officials of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths are coöperating in a way never before equalled in history. Throughout the missionary movement, often the voice of a semi-imperialist Christianity, a new leaven is at work, a new method is being gradually superimposed.

Yet even here we must not mistake these gleaming spires for the whole church edifice. If religious wars are gone, still anti-semitism poisons the air of many Continental countries and the United States has been swept by a decade-long wave of it only now in part subsiding. The materials of Ku Kluxism will be present for years to come, after the hooded purveyors of old wives' tales have vanished like the dodo. Community churches are very few, comparatively, and the Census Bureau reports a great gain of federated churches to the number of a mere 361, with some 60,000 communicants. The oldtime prejudice between Protestant and Catholic zealots often flames into open feud on the slightest provocation. The erstwhile fundamentalist-modernist controversy has been stilled, less through the abandonment of creedal differences than through the willingness of the modernists—with a few glorious exceptions—to relegate to the background their abhorrence of the divisive irrelevancies which they now acquiesce in and thus tacitly endorse.

THE major menace from sectarianism I conceive to be twofold.

First, it distracts the attention of innumerable people from vital matters by its pettifogging insistence on things no one can possibly know anything about. Issues involving the future well-being of countless unborn generations cry out to be resolved. The achievement of a warless world; the building of a coöperative economic order, replacing the profit motive by the production of goods for public use; the substitution of inter-racial fraternity for the present denial of economic and social equality—all these are clearly along the lines of Jesus' interest. They are but convenient expressions to summarize as many social world revo-

lutions, and with all these things done the end is not yet.

Many within and many without the churches are stirred to a warm response by the appeal of the Galilean prophet's nineteen-hundred-years-old call to a new righteousness. But how can they reach out toward his ideal of brotherhood when the very basis of their grouping is so often a denial of it? How can they set themselves to the task of breaking down the walls that segregate humans from their fellow-humans in races, classes, nations, when they themselves are as often as not organized on a class basis, even if unconscious; when they are obliged to follow out the minutiae of sectarian divisions the causes of which are often utterly inexplicable in current language?

Second, sectarianism induces an ingrowing state of mind immune to new ideas and incapable of scientific approaches to new problems. Man, struggling tortuously up the steeps from darkness, has begun to learn a new procedure—the objective method of assaying facts. He has not yet learned it well, and only a few men know at all about it. But in this method lies in part the promise of his emancipation from the bonds of ignorance and fear.

The scientific approach to problems of religion or industry or politics or international affairs or anything at all can never thrive in the midst of a sectarian spirit. Jealous lest beloved institutions crumble under the impact of new truth, the passionate adherents of sectarian creeds or codes can hardly subjugate their minds to the scientific discipline.

Laboratories to be sure are not the only places where tablets of revelation are brought down from the skies; the race will always need its mountain tops. Scientific procedure can never replace entirely the voice crying in the wilderness, the uncalculating fervor of prophetic genius. But more and more mankind must trust the scientific process; and the sectarian mind is a subtle foe.

It is inconceivable that the Nazarene, beholding modern society with the eye of a modern, could fail to be appalled at the schisms which pervade it. I cannot believe him capable of silence in face of these long-perpetuated separations interjecting into the poetry of life such irritant, staccato rhythms.

It is hard to imagine him a Hindu, because his conception of life and religion was not aristocratic but was that of a robust democracy. It is hard to imagine him a Confucianist, for he would find that religion too diffusive in its theoretical loyalties and pale beside his concept of a family-like cosmogony. It is hard to imagine him content with Judaism, for Judaism today contains many of the same exclusive elements against which he inveighed so strongly in his lifetime. It is hard to imagine him a Buddhist, because his sort of asceticism was not a withdrawal from the world or a soul-saving renunciation so much as a self-identification with the under-privileged masses in order that they might have life more abundantly. It is hard to imagine him a Mohammedan, because his ethical ideas run counter to Islam's low estimate of woman, its rigid idea of legalistic deity, and its cutlass conquests.

It is hard to imagine him a member of any Christian denomination, because he could never find adequate release for his buoyant vision in such narrow confines. I can discover no Christian sect which could long endure him in its midst.

Yet he functioned through a group, and came in conflict with traditional religion. What was there in his own *milieu* to play light on our present query?

III

THE Palestine of Jesus' day was a hotbed of incipient revolt, melting away the icy crusts of conformity. Everywhere was dissension. The aristocratic Sadducees; the middle-class Pharisees and their lights of Scriptural lore, the Scribes; the ascetic, radical Essenes; the reformist Zadokites; the revolution-plotting Zealots—all these, not to mention a multitude of lesser movements, vied with each other for religious support; and in varying degrees that meant political prestige.

Numerous books have been written to show that Jesus became identified with one or another of these sects. They are not convincing. He was, of course, influenced by their thought, inevitably. He was indebted to the Essenes for some of his ideas; he was undoubtedly closer to the Pharisees than indicated by the evangelists, who had it in for the Pharisees and Herodians alike. But Jesus stood independently apart from all these groups. Why did he do so?

Because he had to. Because he found it necessary to adopt something of sectarian tactics on behalf of his own crusade. He recognized fully the need of embodying principles in group action, as well as the need of group counter-activity against the old in contrast to which he was setting up a new standard. The evidences of such a point of view are many. "I am the way, the truth and the light"—put that down, if you insist, as the evangelists' own. There is still the parable of the new wine in new wineskins (Mark 2:22); there is the admonition to his apostles to shake off their feet the dust of scorners' yards (Mark 6:11); there is the reproach that the Pharisees keep to their own tradition (Mark 7:9); there is the assurance of opposition from the old religions (Mark 13:9-13); there is earlier, his baptism by John, the forerunner, into the revolutionary ideal of a new righteousness and surrender of privilege; there is the incident of the unwashed hands at the Pharisee's dinner, precipitating a conflict over the elaboration of cleanliness into ritual—the straining out of gnats and swallowing of camels to which he satirically alludes elsewhere; there is the warning, obviously

und, that he came to bring, not peace, but division . . . Jesus, like every other pioneer, rebel, innovator, or eat prophet, could not leave his program disembodied, could not entrust the spread of his ideas to the ance contagion of kindled individuals. This he relied , but not exclusively. He had to gather about him hat was tantamount to an organization, even if a xible one, through which to focus the rays of his sion on the community.

Against entrenched ecclesiasticism he waged not a arfare, but a guerilla contest of good will *versus* good w. ("For the law was given by Moses; but grace nd truth came by Jesus Christ.")

What, though, was the content of his irritating mesge? It was unity—the breaking down of barriers etween man and man. His wrath, scorching when roused, was reserved for those who interposed bars to holesome human contact. No walls would he acnowledge, no disapproval would he not risk in order o demonstrate his faith in the essential oneness of huanity. Bars of creed, sex, race, caste, nationality, or ge (witness his reverence for children) he ruthlessly ode down. His story of the good Samaritan is a glorication of one from a hated outland. His insight found o fault with the Greek woman from Syrophoenicia. He received gratefully the tender solicitude of a Roman centurion. Such things were contrary to custom; his constant sympathy and friendliness toward those of despised religions kept him always in hot water.

And this it was, as much as any other thing, that rushed him. Threatened by the growth of a new sect beginning to catch the imagination of the masses, a sect committed to the eradication of sectarianism itself as his contemporaries knew it, the upholders of regularism found it prudent to share in the alarm of the Herodians and the Roman procurator over insurrectionary symptoms, and consent to the removal of that threat.

IV

THUS we end upon a paradox. Groupings and regroupings there must always be, not only in religion but in every phase of human activity. The economic reformers and revolutionaries are almost equally sectarian; even oppressed races, solidified by social pressure, are never able to achieve complete agreement. In religion the trend is now away from community religious groupings to what are called by sociologists dispersed groups, an evolution which has vital meaning to any evaluation of sectarianism. It means that not only in the trend of religion itself but in the cultural trend of changing social life, sectarianism is already less divisive than a century ago, for example, when the colonization of religious communities was in its heyday.

Rabindranath Tagore, who has tellingly assailed the sectarian type of thought, also says in the course of an article in an Indian journal criticising sectarianism, "If humanity ever happens to be overwhelmed with the catastrophe of a universal flood of one religion, then God will have to make provision for another Noah's Ark to save his creatures from a spiritual destruction."

Akbar, once Mohammedan emperor of India, tried by decree to abolish all sects and substitute an all-embracing cult of simple devotion. He failed. And what can never be done by fiat can in this case be done no more by any great evangelistic campaign to win *en masse* peoples that Christians used to call "the heathen." For as any religion spreads out too thin, it will differentiate behind its outward-pushing frontiers. New sects are not only inevitable but a public necessity. They are the vehicles by which new truths are impressed upon the social order, the tendency of which is to settle into ruts.

When does this necessary sectarianism become divisive, attentive to meaningless minutiae, in opposition to the scientific spirit? Precisely when it *does;* whenever the ultimate goal of such a group is anything less than the promotion of human unity. In the far purpose and the immediate method there can be nothing which dams the flow of comradeship wherever it cascades down from the great divides.

How fare the conventional, the traditional groupings of the present religious world under such a test—a standard, I contend, in keeping with the record of Jesus?

I put the answer up to them. In the question alone a religious revolution is implicit. There will come a day when the issue is too plain for further temporizing. Happy portents are discernible in some of the more liberal sects already; but even there the motion is all but glacier-like. In that far day of fulfillment, brought about as much by shifts in the basis of our civilization as through a conscious effort, perennial separatists and chronic cloisterers will be forced to discuss the price of their survival. That price will often be the loss of their institutional life, to gain thereby a freer life for those who may come after.

Wholesale agreement would be fatal. The free interplay of conflicting group ideas is an essential to the most coöperative of societies. All this may be a part of the new world that idealists herald and for which they hunger; and yet the scientific method may prevail, the phalanxes of good will fare forth to slay the dragons of ignorance, superstition, greed, violence and reaction. Fellowship can thrive, if there remain good faith, scientific reality and love; and perhaps, above all, understanding.

"When we understand each other, all in all,"
exclaimed a cosmopolite poet of the masses,
"Oh! that must be heaven; there is nothing
beyond."

Clippings

An Englishman Prefers Asia

I have comparatively small acquaintance with the United States of America, but frankly if I had to choose between losing all that the United States have to give the world and all that Asia has to give the world, I would not hesitate; nor, I think, would most of us.—*Sir Arnold Wilson,* The Review of Nations, *January, 1928, p. 28.*

A Reply to Miss Mayo

In spite of the remarkable frugality and industry of the Indian villages, which has been recorded by every historian who has written about India, and in spite of the peaceful and temperate moral character of the village people, India under British rule still remains the poorest and most illiterate country on the face of the earth, with a death rate so high that the individual expectation of life only reaches 26 years, the lowest in the world.—*C. F. Andrews,* Young India, *August 2, 1928, p.* 262.

A Quaker Estimate of Candidates

We knew that Herbert Hoover had world experience, and we had hoped out of that experience there would be born a high idealism for World Peace. We find it is otherwise. He whom we had expected to lead the world towards disarmament points toward preparedness. On the other hand, Alfred E. Smith has inherited from Woodrow Wilson something of that fine idealism that accomplished so much for World Peace, despite all its imperfections; and that if given authority again will doubtless go further along the same road.—*Editorial,* The Messenger of Peace, *September, 1928, p. 4.*

Living in Two Worlds

The prophet is never an optimist. The optimist is too cowardly to see the world as it is, therefore he paints it to his liking with rhetoric. The prophet is heroic; he sees the world as it is and loves it nevertheless, and because he loves it he wants it to become different. He looks from the moment to eternity, from the real to the ideal; he is always building "more stately mansions" long before the optimist has made himself at home under the old roof. The prophet lives in two worlds—the one with which he is in discontent and the other which he is building.—*Edward A. Steiner,* Build Thee More Stately Mansions, *p. 14.*

"You Said a Mouthful"

While we are discussing the condition of the Fleet, a pearl of wisdom was dropped in China the other day which it would be well for the American people to treasure. In connection with the launching of a destroyer which the Nationalist Government is building at Shanghai—the first warship begun for the Chinese government since 1911—General Chiang Kai-shek, representing the Nationalists, said: "If our naval officials and sailors strive to the utmost we can ultimately make China a first-class naval power, thereby gaining justice and equal treatment in the family of nations, which is the only way we ever will achieve equality." To utter a familiar expression: "Chiang, you said a mouthful."—*Editorial,* Army and Navy Journal, *September 1, 1928, p. 8.*

For Once We Agree

When one has no other argument to advance in opposition to an organization, he shrieks "Red," "Bolshevists," "Sovietism."—*Editorial,* Army and Navy Journal, *September 29, 1928.*

Humanizing War

The League has no more business to organize and humanize war than a government has to organize or humanize murder. Let others make war bearable. We must find it unbearable in any shape or form.—*S. De Madariaga,* New York Times, *March 18, 1928.*

Which Amendments Are Being Nullified?

When the preachers cry out that the issue of issues is the nullification of the Constitution, that Constitution established to ensure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, they proclaim a truth they do not understand.—*Ellery Sedgwick,* The Atlantic Monthly, *October, 1928.*

One Racial Barrier

The apprehension persists that one of the strongest barriers to the emancipation of the white South is the assumption that its major task is to prevent Negroes from accomplishing what they insist the laws of nature will not permit them to accomplish in the first place.—*Opportunity,* A Journal of Negro Life, *May, 1928.*

Looking Toward 1935

The Great War harmed the entire world and did not prepare the way for peace. However, it aroused such horror that for seven or eight years more any warlike projects will be looked upon with lively antipathy by any of the Great Powers. The decisive hour in the life of Europe will be reached about 1935, when a new generation will have grown up that did not participate in the last war and does not therefore feel this horror.—*Francesco Nitti,* The Atlantic Monthly, *September, 1928.*

Barbarous Practice Due to Primitive Belief

No, the plea that capital punishment acts as a deterrent to crime will not stand. The real reason why this barbarous practice persists in a so-called civilized world is that people still hold the primitive belief that the taking of one human life can be atoned for by taking another. It is the age-old obsession with punishment that keeps the official headsman busy plying his trade. It seems to be a general impression that there are fewer homicides in Great Britain than in America because in England punishment is more certain, more prompt, and more severe. As a matter of fact, the reverse is true. In England the average term for burglary is eighteen months; with us it is probably four or five years. In England, imprisonment for life means twenty years. Prison sentences in the United States are harder than in any country in the world that could be classed as civilized.—*Clarence Darrow,* The Forum, *September, 1928, pp. 329-330.*

Progress or Decadence?

HARRY F. WARD

WHEN this symposium was first announced I said to the editors that the title had established a world record by begging three questions in five words—first that there was anything which could properly be called civilization; second that these United States had a title to the term America; third that there were any gains in the life of this country since the war. To this I added my grave doubts about a procedure which looks for something people want to find instead of going to see what is there. For good measure I threw in my very strong objection to any undertaking which seemed either designed or likely to fortify our comfortable, middle-class religionists in the false security which emanates from the idea of automatic progress that left them so unprepared and helpless when the World War hit them. That shelter must be ruthlessly destroyed before such people will set to work to make the future. So that I should now be asked to review the whole situation is some evidence of the temper in which this venture is being conducted.

Clearly these reviewers of our contemporary life in this country have reported to us some advances; but they give the impression of having had heavy going, especially at vital points. The best they can do for us is to recount some surface improvements without setting them against the underlying situation or in the crucial matters of war, race, industry, and religion to express faith that principles are being accepted, situations faced, attitudes changed. Just what is the worth of technical improvements in education and government in the face of the extent to which business enterprise, consciously and unconsciously, manages to control them and determine their objectives? The challenge of the Goose Step and of Teapot Dome with all its ramifications is yet to be faced by the people of this nation. Will the few who have accepted the ethics of Jesus in the matter of race relationships avail any more as the black people join the issue on economic and cultural equality than did those of the same sort in the slavery fight? What is the possibility of peacefully democratizing economic procedure and socializing industry by way of gigantic trusts whose predatory claws have been trimmed and who have found some humanitarian feeling, when these dividend collecting organizations increase a luxury leisure class and diminish accordingly the means of development for the working section of the population? If religion must either function as a savior in the practical affairs of mankind or be sloughed off with other useless encumbrances, where are the signs that an ethical religion is actually developing among us? Where was it when the humanitarian conscience of Europe was shocked by the callousness with which we tortured to death two Italian workers?

IT is indisputable that cultural equality and economic equality are interdependent. The former can only be realized as the latter is approximated. Hence the significance of the recent concentration of income and ownership in this nation. It means a stratified class culture. It means that the United States is beginning to repeat that particular aspect of European life of which it has been stridently critical, and is losing that equalitarian tone which was distinctive of its democracy. It cannot be denied that to an increasing section of the workers on the soil and in the city the door to the cultural life for their children is shut and barred. Those who survive the influence upon their tastes and standards of the press and the radio, if they are also physically strong enough to withstand the fatigue of monotonous, high-speed labor, may some of them still earn their way through college. But more of them will go as beneficiaries of endowments. Likewise those who prefer less stereotyped education will avail themselves of libraries, museums and lectures by the grace of charity. It is the same with religion. That, too, is dispensed as alms, not only to the unfortunate and inefficient but also to those who are where they are, as against the prosperous, simply because they or their parents came too late to share in the initial exploitation of the unparalleled natural resources of this continent. The control of these resources, and of the trade and investment they made possible, by the successful, under the original American doctrine of freedom of opportunity, is the stern economic fact which determines the future of that doctrine.

To know how far it has been abandoned, it is necessary to estimate that intangible thing—public opinion. But there can be little doubt about the public temper since the war. The official hypothesis of the country, almost unanimously repeated by the press, is that the more money we let the successful moneymakers acquire the better we will all be off. That is, the more inequality we have in economic control the more equality in all things else. Apparently this paradoxical dogma has been accepted with acquiescence by most of the people. At least they are supposed to be satisfied with the radios, cars, silk hosiery they are supposed to be owning. But if all of this should turn out to be something more than the illusions of a fool's paradise what does it mean in essence? If the greater part of the popula-

tion of this free man's country is from now on to get more goods and culture only by grace of the captains of industry and finance, exactly as the underlying citizens of Germany got some of these things before the war by grace of Bismarck and the Kaiser as God-appointed trustees of the new Teutonic capitalism, is not this clearly the reversal of the distinctive American process?

THAT the situation has this ominous possibility is made clearer when we look at the state of freedom. There definite facts speak louder than in the matter of equality of cultural opportunity. The similarity in external appearance, the ease with which income and occupational differences are crossed in conversation, which so impress Europeans habituated to a world of status inherited from feudalism, carries with it no corresponding equality in control of government or of the means of livelihood. A discriminating visitor from across the sea recently remarked that our social attitudes were more, our institutions less, democratic than those of his country. It is increasingly difficult for the ordinary run of citizen to make himself effective in the machinery of politics. The net result of the company union schemes that have propagated themselves so abundantly since the war is to strengthen the control of industry by a paternalistic, financial oligarchy and so to make more difficult and costly a real sharing of power.

If there be doubt about this, there is certainly no question concerning what has been happening to those who seek to change our political and economic institutions in the direction of the original American ideals of freedom and equality. For them there are blacklists, injunctions, the fists, clubs and horses' hoofs of the police. If these prove insufficient, then there are frame-ups, long jail sentences, and in extremity, the electric chair.

Since the war most of our states have passed laws which can be, and in some cases are, administered so as to prevent any advocacy of basic change in our political or economic institutions. These laws and this use of them have now been twice upheld by the Supreme Court, with a small, dissenting minority. Since the war it has become the habitual practice of local officials in a number of industrial centers arbitrarily to forbid the exercise of the historic rights of free speech and then further brutally to break up peaceful assemblage for public protest against this and other administrative abuses. Again, the courts, instead of rebuking such unconstitutional tyranny, have given jail sentences to the defenders of our traditional freedom. It is true that a recent decision in New Jersey has put a stop to the use of the law regarding unlawful assembly to prevent peaceful protest against wrongs and emphatically affirms the necessity of the most liberal interpretation of the historic civil liberties. But in other industria states the opposite practice and law continue. The denial of free speech is therefore now entrenched i legal precedent. The continuance of the use of co ercion by the democratic state to prevent certain type of discussion of the distribution of economic powe means that coercion will be used in the effort to secur and prevent that distribution.

To avert that contingency already it is necessary t reverse two Supreme Court decisions and the decision of several courts of last resort in several states. Mos of the force of government and most of the power o law is now most of the time behind property rights regardless of the results to freedom or social progress This means that the weight of the American govern ment is thrown a good deal of the time against the struggle of the masses for freedom and equality, t which purpose the government was once dedicated. I this tendency is not reversed it means that the demo cratic state has lost its function. It was to make pos sible social change without recourse to force and vio lence. Insofar as it is now preventing discussion o change it is now making inevitable the use of force an violence to secure change. Indeed in many instance of current record it is itself the first to use the forc and violence which it was supposed to make unneces sary. Thus does capitalistic society add to its distribu tion of bread and circuses in place of the rights of a free citizenship the use of another Pretorian Guar in the vain attempt to maintain power which has out lived its usefulness.

If this trend cannot be reversed before it gets too late, if education and religion can do no more to pre vent this country from drifting into the class war tha they did to keep it from being pulled into the Worl War, then the meaning of recent improvements i either our comforts or our institutions will be to mak the next advance in human life more costly than i would have been without them, because they increas both the destructiveness and the bitterness of the con flict. They mean more things to defend or to capture Russia and China can pass into a coöperative economi order by way of civil warfare with less cost than Ger many, Great Britain or the United States. Yet at pres ent with us the economic world, with the state behind it is definitely turning toward that catastrophe. The Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy cracked for a moment the crus of our sodden, guzzling complacency and showed thos who have eyes to see the molten lava beneath. Educa tion and religion are theoretically against the conflic method as a means to progress. What they are worth is now to be proved. Is there any evidence in the las decade that they have checked a trend which goes clearly against their basic purpose and which if it con tinues will nullify any other gains they may have made

THE inexorable fate of a class culture is to contribute to more of the people whatever gains it has wrought out in its course only through the conquest of power by the rising class. The only way it can avoid this fate is by becoming a universal culture, that is, by ceasing to be. If we want to know whether what we have here is merely another class culture which in time must go the way of its predecessors of the old world, we shall once more have to get the viewpoint of those who see us from without. It is at the point of our impact upon other peoples that the nature of our way of life is revealed. Civilization in an inter-communicating, interdependent world is henceforth universal and the measure of the culture of any particular people is those elements in their life which the other peoples recognize to have common worth.

A class culture is inevitably nationalistic and imperialistic. It asserts the same privileges against other nations abroad that it holds against other classes at home. It is either patronizing or aggressive, condescending or cruel, supercilious or blatant. In short, it is typically one hundred per cent American; it is America First; it is the supremacy of the White Nordic Protestant, or of the intelligent who have tested the intelligence of the others and signed the certificate of their own. But a manner of living that is entitled today to the name civilization must be part and parcel of the whole life and struggle of mankind. It must both draw from and pour into the common pool of resources for the development of the common life of man. It must be not only willing but anxious to universalize its gains, to share its experience and resources with all other peoples and in like manner to receive from them. Because we now live and move on the world stage we can no longer measure one sectional life against another under the term civilizations. They are but cultures, still predominantly local perhaps, but not exclusively so. Therefore the life of any people must now be measured by what it contributes to the rest of the life of man. No way of life that draws tribute from others, that waxes strong at the cost of making others weak, can henceforth be regarded as civilized, no matter what the state of its machinery, art, literature or religion. Imperialism is as barbarous now that the sun of world brotherhood is rising as was the plundering of the Goths when the sun of imperial Rome was setting.

What then is the significance of the fact that by the smaller nations to the south of us we are increasingly regarded as a menace? To an ever growing number of their people we are a great, predatory power, encroaching upon their freedom with our control and shaping their destiny in ways alien to their desire. This empire of trade and investment that desires no more territory yet must have its tribute. The demand for profit and interest is as inexorable as the requisition of the Roman taxgatherer. We seek and get advantage, not the mutual pooling of effort and sharing of increment resulting therefrom. Benevolent we may be as long as our paternalism is not resisted, but we still regard the resources of this continent, both natural and human, as our occasion for profit; and if our praiseworthy intentions are resisted, we can and do kill the rebels as relentlessly as Rome or Britain. On this basis what relations can develop between the peoples of this continent that are worthy of the name civilization? How can a world of mutual effort and sharing be built on investment for profit? The basic facts of economic exploitation and economic inequality will have the same effect in international relations that they have produced in this country in the contacts between the races. Desire it as we may, a warless, fraternal world remains as unrealized as the freedom and citizenship of the Negro so long as one people continues to use another for its economic advantage without an equivalent return. On that basis, all we can have is a class, a national, a racial culture with all the passion and strife that they breed.

THERE is another test which our own wisdom as well as that of the East is beginning to put to our manner of life. The chief characteristic of that manner of living in the past which has in common usage been called civilization, whether it was in China, Greece or Medieval Europe, is unity. Life was within the compass of a scheme; it had unity. Its relationships were ordered; there was a universal sense of status and obligation. But this is exactly what is lacking in the Western world, and most of all in these United States. And over its absence we even exult. The transition from the obligation of status to freedom of contract is hailed as a great step forward. Is not the road to the top always open for the most able? Let every one look out for himself and the common weal will automatically be taken care of! Let individual selfishness go its own way, within the limits of the criminal law, and social harmony will come without thought or effort, especially if we put the most potent curses on every proposal to improve life by ordered effort. The actual outcome of course is mostly chaos and conflict. We have not yet begun to make our civilization. We live in a disordered world, in a time and place too full of antagonisms.

The essence of harmony in those days and scenes where men achieved some unity of life was in the conjunction between the cultural and the economic aspects of living. In Greece the aristocracy of the intellect and the labor of the slaves were interwoven; in China the family determined both ethics and economics; in the high days of Medieval Europe feudalism gave everybody his place and duty in the common life for which they all lived. Today there is not only no plan, system or order over vast areas of our economic life save the control set up by organized greed, but our

cultural life and our economic activities are proceeding by contrary principles. Democracy is the slogan of our culture, autocracy the dominant principle in our industrialism which comes increasingly within the grip of a financial oligarchy. The ethics of our professed religion is to love our neighbor as ourselves; the law of business enterprise is to make a profit out of him. Our political philosophy is rooted in freedom and equality, our industrial practice tends irresistibly toward monopoly and concentration of power. It is this basic conflict between our culture and our economic activities that tears our life asunder and leaves it broken and disordered. And this disorder again is at odds with the machine, which demands a technique of coördination. The condition of civilization for a machine age is social planning and social control. This will bring not only order where there is now chaos but spiritual unity where there is now warfare and anarchy. And since the power machine both makes possible and requires a world civilization this planning and control must be on a world scale.

HERE is our test. If our economic philosophy and arrangements make for class culture and conflict they make also for nationalism and imperialism. In that case any gains which may be registered in a paper program against war, in the spread of education or the socialization of religion are deficient in reality and will not show permanence. If these gains are to endure and continue, the economic forces must be brought into harmony with them, which means they have to be transformed from planless, divisive activities into ordered, integrating pursuits.

What evidence is there that in the last decade or two the people of the United States have addressed themselves to this basic problem of modern life? Everywhere, from child labor to electric power, the scant forces that seek the civilization which the machine makes possible are holding the trenches against the continuous assaults of greed and ignorance. Never was the philosophy of profit-seeking as the way to the Promised Land so vocal or so dominant in our public life. Never was our government so controlled by successful business enterprise nor our press so given over to moneymaking. When were the people so indifferent to their freedom? The days since the World War are, like those that followed our civil strife, the dark days of our record. In them we have been moving away from our early ideals and away from those by which alone a free and ordered, a just and fraternal world can be fashioned. A sophisticated, imperialist United States is more dangerous to the rest of mankind than one that was ignorant and isolated. It is too early yet to know whether these recent tendencies represent the real drift of the American current or are only a side eddy. If they continue there is history enough to read their meaning—they spell decadence once again. If this country is to contribute anything more toward progress it is necessary for it to apply its bent for invention to the discovering and developing of the forms of economic organization which will enable its original principles to be realized throughout its population and its genuine friendliness toward other nations to become a practical reality.

No More Songs

O SET the barrelled apples in the cellar, the smell
Of apples makes me weep with loneliness.
Go hang your ladders on the fence and press
No more the windfalls under foot; how well
The air is wined with rotting fruit, the spell
It puts upon me stings, and my distress
Is all my own; there is no one left to guess
What silence means, unless the trees can tell.
O tree-people in the hollows, and you brave tree,
Whose lightning-struck white blood has spattered a
stone,
Your head on another's shoulder, blowing alone
The last November song in the wind, give me
Your gold-leafed hands to hold. And now let these—
Winter and Death, creep around our knees.

RUTH LANGLAND HOLBERG

The Army Goes for Hoover

FOR the first time in our knowledge, a candidate for the Presidency has defined exactly what is meant by the loose term "adequate National Defense." In a speech delivered at Elizabethton, Tennessee, last Saturday night, Mr. Hoover declared: "We must maintain our Navy and our Army in such fashion that we shall have complete defense of our homes from even the fear of invasion."

This is precisely the principle the Army and the Navy have constantly advocated, one that if observed will assure national peace. More generally, Mr. Hoover uttered the same thought in a speech to veterans at Johnson City, Tennessee: "We have earnestly wished for limitation of armament through the world as a definite contribution to peace. But peace must be founded upon respect. We must be prepared for defense."

Placing our own interpretation upon Mr. Hoover's emphatic utterances, we feel that he realizes there must be an increase in the Army, and, certainly, the enactment of the Butler building program. The naval pact between England and France, which revelations show contain secret clauses, demands that our Fleet shall be brought to the 5-5-3 standard fixed by the Washington Treaties.

In the meantime, where does Candidate Smith stand on National Defense? Obviously he is playing for the pacifist vote. But we prefer the four square declaration of Mr. Hoover. There is not merely promise in what he says; there is conviction.—*Editorial in* The Army and Navy Journal, *Oct. 13, 1928.*

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Preserving the Status Quo

In all ages the multitude has looked upon Barabbas as a less violent and dangerous disrupter of social laws than the Christ—not this man but Barabbas.—*Olive Schreiner,* From Man to Man, *p. 176.*

Dwight Moody—Pacifist?

IN spite of all this he could not conscientiously enlist. "There has never been a time in my life when I felt that I could take a gun and shoot down a fellow-being. In this respect, I am a Quaker," was his explanation.—The Life of Dwight L. Moody, *by William R. Moody, 1900, p. 82.*

Forsaking All

When we look back to the cheerful alacrity with which, in some former ages, men sacrificed all their material and intellectual interests to what they believed to be right, and when we realise the unclouded assurance that was their reward, it is impossible to deny that we have lost something in our progress.—*W. E. H. Lecky,* Rationalism in Europe, *Vol. 2, p. 357.*

One Hundred and Nine Years Ago

The prevailing spirit of the present age seems to be the spirit of skepticism and captiousness, of suspicion and distrust; a contempt of all authority, and a presumptuous confidence in private judgment; a dislike of all established forms, merely because they are established, and of old paths because they are old.—*Dr. Samuel Johnson's Sermons, in* British Prose Writers, *vol. 15, 1819.*

In 1854

It cannot be denied that the love of gain rules in all classes of society; and that, as if propelled by steam, men are everywhere making haste to be rich. At intervals the spirit of speculation rages like an epidemic, and the heart and pulse of the country throb in the race for riches. When that spirit subsides, the country presents the appearance of the ocean's shore, when strewn with wrecks after a fierce storm. To whatever cause we may trace it, obedience to legal and moral restraint is diminishing in the land. Reverence for law is waning. Life and property are becoming less and less secure.—*Nicholas Murry,* Sermon preached in First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., *Nov. 23, 1854.*

Seven Great Masters

Civilization is a unity, sustained on three considerations. First, it is a collective achievement. Second, it is a common heritage. Third, it is a joint responsibility. . . . If you were asked for the seven great masters of literature, you could easily select seven names and each one would represent a different nation. Most likely you would start with Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Moliere, and Goethe. Or, if today you think about great literature, you would recall Anatole France, who is French; Maeterlinck the Belgian, Hauptmann the German, Selma Lagerlof the Swede, D'Annunzio the Italian, Stamann the Norwegian, Gorki the Russian, Hardy and Wells the Englishmen, Shaw the Irishman, Blasco Ibanez the Spaniard, Tagore the Indian, and Eliot the American.—*Dr. Wm. C. Poole,* Industry and International Relations.

Early American Bolshevism?

The first printing press in Massachusetts—and for a generation the only one in English America—was set up in 1639, and for some years thereafter no legal restrictions were put upon its output. This is explained by the fact that it was so under the influence of the theocracy that there was no fear of its turning out anything of which they did not approve.—*Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker,* The First Americans, *p. 239.*

Human Credulity

As I survey the practice and "beliefs" of primitive and savage tribes or the columns of modern newspapers and much modern literature, I become convinced that men have a natural tendency to assert, and craving to hear the sensational, exaggerated, and impossible, and to fly in the face both of reason and experience.—*Lynn Thorndike,* A History of Magic and Experimental Science, *Vol. 2, p. 975.*

Unrecognized Faces

WHAT business have rouge and paint on a Christian cheek? Who can weep for her sins when her tears wash her face bare and make furrows on her skin? With what trust can faces be lifted up toward heaven, which the Maker cannot recognize as his workmanship?—*Church Father of the Fourth Century,* quoted by H. H. Milman, History of Christianity, *Vol. 3, p. 350.*

Blaming Hell on Providence

General Sherman is perfectly right—the only possible way to end this unhappy and dreadful conflict, in whose horrors, though he is Providentially a chief actor, no man is further from finding any pleasure, is to make it terrible beyond endurance. . . . There is nothing for it but "to fight the devil with fire." Not with wanton barbarity nor with useless destruction; but it is neither barbarous nor useless but just and indispensable to utterly destroy everything, no matter whose, or what, or whom, that does or can uphold, sustain or encourage this gigantic crime. . . . I would give a great deal if I knew how to stop the profanity I have to hear all the time.—*Major Henry Hitchcock,* Marching With Sherman, *pp. 35, 139.*

More Tyrannies Than One

Protection, therefore, against tyranny of the magistrate is not enough; there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development and, if possible, prevent the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find the limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism.—*John Stuart Mill,* On Liberty, *reprinted in Kilpatrick: Source Book in the Philosophy of Education, p. 175.*

Wanted: A Cultural Trading-Post in Russia

BRENT DOW ALLINSON

THE gulf between our world of competitive initiative and economic libertarianism and the peculiar organized world of Russia under the Communist dictatorship is deep and as yet unbridged. Fear and a foaming antagonism run through it unopposed and rise upon both shores in spite of the fact that nearly ninety million dollars' worth of trade passed from our country to theirs, purchased by their cash and warehouse receipts, within the last year.

A new generation of young men and women, graduating from the Communist schools and training-camps, is rising to maturity in Russia with ideas and emotional attitudes so formed and fixed that they do not see the innumerable similarities between their ideals and ours, their practise and ours, and do not admit that they have anything to learn from our experience with liberty and self-government. On the contrary they conceive of their world as set over against ours, from top to bottom, as irreconcilable with ours in theory as in practice, and they regard the western industrialized world in general and capitalist Britain and the United States in particular as their natural, inevitable enemies, "lusting their downfall," disputing their progress and the progress of humanity toward its socialist destiny. The conviction among these young people that they have nothing to learn from representative democracy and everything to fear from bourgeois America is equalled only by the intensity of the belief in this country that Russian Communism is a rising menace to civilization and liberty.

The fact of these attitudes of mind, on whatever falsity of premise they are based, constitutes the greatest menace to peace and security of the world, for neither is opposed to the use of force; and I do not see how any intelligent person aware of the facts can doubt that as the power of Russia increases and the economic ambitions of the United States expand, this antagonism of sentiment and theory may be intensified to the point of precipitating a conflict in Asia or Europe or both—a possibility, involving civil convulsions, that will become alarming and perhaps unpreventable. What can be done about it now, before that time arrives, by individuals who are concerned about it?

CLEARLY, political recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States would be quite inadequate, even if it were contemplated, to bridge the mental gulf which is the real issue. Clearly, also, the encouragement of economic relations, of trade and commerce, is desirable and mutually profitable; but the curious circumstance that the Russians do not permit the establishment of even a foreign commercial agency in their country, but transact all their commercial negotiations with us upon our own soil, by agents of their Government, and on their terms, in substance, totally excludes the normal cultural concomitants of commercial intercourse and precludes effectively intellectual interstimulation, all direct contact between American and Russian business men, and in general the entrance of all middle-class tastes and ideas, while admitting certain desired industrial products of capitalist laboratories. This is a result, I believe, desired and intended by those Communist theorists who dream of the total destruction of bourgeois life and institutions, who created the Soviet State and its monopoly of foreign trade and domestic industrial production.

For the first time since the revolution regular tourist incursions of Soviet Russia have begun, and several thousand Americans have visited the country. They have been entirely in the hands of a newly-created government tourist-agency whose purpose it is to tour them, interpret to them, feed them, bed them, enlighten them, and even, if necessary, doctor them—all at a profitable per diem rate, more systematically than anybody else would ever have the temerity to do. How it is working out, and whether it is contributing to the edification and satisfaction of the tourists, nobody yet seems prepared to say; but, clearly, it permits little opportunity for freedom of personal exchange and social intercourse between Russian civilians and the American visitors. Such exchange would be very difficult, under the prevailing conditions in Russia, even if it were not officially discouraged. Few Russians dare to invite strangers to their rooms or to fraternize with foreigners openly, even if economically able to entertain them.

The American going to Russia will find none of the usual aids to travel familiar in western European countries, and no American agency whatever, neither a consulate, a bank, a news-bureau, a commercial representative, nor even a missionary or a school, to aid him in an emergency. Nor, from the Russian view point, is there any reliable source of accurate information concerning the customs, the ideas, the products, and the real life of the American people—nothing save the biased news and views supplied by the official press and by a few American communists and abnormal types resident in Moscow.

The distortion and exaggeration, both amusing and pathetic, concerning the United States and its civiliza-

tion resulting in the mind of the Russian people due to their own peculiar isolation and the absence of all familiar forms of commercial and cultural interchanges between civilized nations, are almost indescribable. It is widely believed, for instance, that all Americans live in skyscrapers, work ten hours a day for a millionaire, and hunt buffalo in Ford cars on rare vacations. Even the conditions of the working class are judged by the worst that exists in the tenements of New York or the mines of Pennsylvania.

WHAT is needed, and what might by far-sighted initiative on the part of a few American citizens be created, it seems to me, is an American House or Center in Moscow, an institution that would be an educational and social meeting-place and museum for the exhibition of *Homo Americanus* in his native atmosphere, surrounded by his customary ideological flora, his books, his machines, his social welfare agencies, or charts and pictures of them, his catalogues, his toys, his radios and his phonographs! The Center should be a kind of glorified cultural trading-post and super-social settlement where accurate information of all kinds concerning the industries, institutions, and ideals of the United States of America could be freely obtained by the many Russians who are trying to reach us through the dark. There the English language should be taught, for while it is the most popular foreign language in Russia at present, it is taught only by a few cultivated Russians and by two or three British subjects who for peculiar reasons have exiled themselves to Russia and are earning a living by teaching English badly. The Center should be the headquarters for all Americans visiting Russia, especially for American scholars who will go there to study the complex, significant developments of the closely-knit Soviet economic and educational system.

It is unnecessary to elaborate the idea here. Properly staffed and supplied, such an American Center maintained by American means could be of inestimable value in promoting in a hundred ways a truer understanding of the ideals and the realities of the American nation. Led by courageous and tactful persons, it would be a window to the East through which many Americans might look with insight upon the Soviet scene and the bewildering developments of theory and practice which make contemporary Russia so paradoxical and so difficult to interpret even with the best of good-will. For it is an appalling structure of interlocking economy and government that has risen upon the ashes of Russian imperialism and the despair and ruin which vested injustice, ill-begotten invasions, and fanatical vengeance created beyond the marshes of Poland.

One little house, and half of that only, so far as I know, exists in all Russia in the hands of Americans today. It is a low, pink, stuffy little building suffused with wood-smoke and good intentions and little more—all that remains of the headquarters of a once far-reaching relief work conducted by the American Friends Service Committee and their English colleagues, in a long-suffering, slowly-recovering land. A vital, radiating center of intelligence and good-will might be created out of this dormant germ, if the cooperation of the Russian authorities could be obtained. I believe that it could if they can be convinced that neither charity nor bourgeois religion, by which is meant a ritual of prosperity for the rich and of comfortable securities from spiritual reality and social ethics, would be dispensed.

Here is a task for all that there is of "fortitude and delicacy" among us, especially for those who believe that wars and convulsions of fear and hate can be prevented by foresight and intelligence. An American outpost, created by democrats sharing the faith of Whitman:

> Over the carnage rose prophetic a Voice:
> Be not discouraged, affection shall solve
> the problems of Freedom yet . . .

and who believe that there may be as much of value to learn from Soviet Russia in the science of government, social education, and control of the complex economic machine as there is to teach her in the arts of liberty and individualism—an outpost to be established upon the lonely frontier of a closed Eurasian world amid a climate of tyranny—who will see its necessity and, seeing, help to create it?

From the Twilight

(To H. G. Wells)

AT times when the big and little barbs of living are pressing in their teeth,
When desire and the fact are a rasping dissonance,
When thought is turgid, and the city's blare and clash
Harangue the dusty mob beneath a copper sun:
I turn within and part the curtain of the years
Upon a dream of clearer eyes and brains and a clean-scrubbed earth;
When the miracle of Time and Thought shall lead man from his cages
To the gardens of eternal Maturity at the end of the long adolescence.
Through the rift, in the distance, lie the evanescent figments
Of a vast and timeless venture reaching out amid the stars,
A vision of green lawn and white towers
Beneath a crucible of gold.

VERNON WESLEY GRANT

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Meet Contemporary Civilization

IT is not possible to review a book like Harry Elmer Barnes' *Living in the Twentieth Century;* it can only be described. In 381 pages he has compressed the story of all those changes and developments in science and philosophy, in manufacture and transportation, in industrial and political organization, which make present-day life such a complex thing.

One should hasten to add that the book is in no sense a cyclopedia—a collection of facts and studies. Mr. Barnes brings to the task he has set himself his ripe experience as a sociologist and historian and is interested in showing how all these cultural changes have contributed to that complex and fast-moving thing called twentieth century civilization. It is an astounding piece of work, for while the book probably contains no material which could not be found elsewhere, it comprises between its covers the summary of researches and developments in a dozen different major fields.

Three years ago, when Mr. Barnes wrote a series of articles for the *Christian Century* on War Origins, and as a result of his painstaking research displayed an uncanny grasp of what had been happening in the chancelleries of Europe, a subscriber wrote in: "Dear Mr. Editor, Is Harry Elmer Barnes God?" Readers of this work will be inclined to echo the sentiment, for it seems almost too vast a field for one person to cover so thoroughly.

It is a happy circumstance that Mr. Barnes is rather partial to what is new and progressive in all these fields; for while he sees unsolved problems facing us in every direction, his is not the attitude which deplores or fears the changes but rather seeks to understand and utilize them as fully as possible.

Many people will not get much satisfaction out of the book. Religious people will get many shocks at the author's thoroughgoing behaviorism. Upholders of the status quo will not like his searching analysis of current capitalism, and radicals will resent some of his criticism of proposals for reconstruction. Democracy, too, in an illuminating chapter, is shown to be an inadequate form of social control. The author is not pessimistic in regard to the outcome, but after his examination of nationalism and imperialism he concludes that "the elimination of war is the first pre-requisite to any hope of a decent world order and to any assurance of enduring civilization." With that judgment we hope there may be complete agreement. (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50.)

PAUL JONES

Russellian Goulash

THE Honorable Bertrand Russell, co-author of the *Principia Mathematica,* has stoutly maintained that "scientific philosophy" is an affair of infallible inferences about "types" of reality properly expounded only in the symbolic language and having nothing whatever to do with mere human interests and ethical problems. But the same Mr. Russell is a lover of the market place, vitally interested in the whole range of human gossip, and a man who has the moral courage to be immoral. The *Principia Mathematica* remains unread even by most professional philosophers, skeptical of the commensurability of the returns to the requisite time investment. Incidentally Mr. Russell himself has lost faith in the metaphysical significance of his technical work although he is still convinced of its esthetic and utilitarian value; his statement in Essay III of his *Sceptical Essays* that scientific productivity is usually rooted in irrational convictions may therefore be taken as autobiographical.

Meanwhile a curious public clamors for more lectures and books from this popular philosopher, but *not* symbolic logic or even "analyses of matter." Naturally Mr. Russell keeps stirring up the pot. These essays are the most recent serving. They contain discussions of modern psychology in its more sensational aspects, Laotze versus Confucius, the value of spelling versus the value of pronunciation, the fallacy of Socialism, Alpine climbing as a moral equivalent of war, and "all such topics." The title is somewhat misleading, for Mr. Russell is temperamentally not a literary skeptic like Mr. Santayana, but an earnest reformer.

The author's profound common sense yields real contribution in spite of his neglect of all scientific method in approach to social problems. In fact, in these essays Mr. Russell hints at a new application of science to the treatment of ethics. He revives the teaching of Voltaire: *"Aimer et penser; c'est la veritable vie des esprits."* He cites Confucius, "moderate even in virtue," and Bentham who taught "the subversive doctrine" that "a 'good' man is a man who does good." Then he advances, in Psychology and Politics, to a position that is original and, I believe, profoundly significant: "Everybody except certain pathological cases wishes to be happy, but most people accept some current theory as to what constitutes happiness." If people think wealth constitutes happiness (*à la* Behaviorist, orthodox economists, and Marxians, according to Russell), they will not act as they will if they think sex the essential thing (*à la* the psychoanalysts, according to Russell).

What emerges is the importance of a right theory as to what constitutes happiness. Here Mr. Russell points to a crucial problem, capable of experimental and statistical treatment, a line of research which may well revolutionize ethical theory.

I commend the following description of contrast between Chinese and Western attitudes to all who are very, *very* sure of their own ethical principles: "Another result of the absence of the notion of Sin is that men are more willing to submit their differences to argument and reason than we are in the West. Among ourselves, differences of opinion quickly become questions of 'principle': each side thinks the other side is wicked and that any yielding to it involves sharing in its guilt."

I could now quote thirteen perfectly delectable Russellian epigrams—but the editors will not allow me any more space.* (Norton, $2.50.)

FRANK LORIMER

* We are superstitious.—THE EDITORS.

Social Plumbing

HERE is a strange, conglomerate, hasty, deep, contradictory book—*Equitable Society and How to Create It,* by Warren Edwin Brokaw. Yet it is a patient and honest life work, really the work of a family, with the collaboration of countless interesting quotations. It has its roots in Henry George, the single-tax movement, and a narrow concept of justice. It attempts to rule out love, to be purely "intellectual." It would annul by peaceful agreement all titles to exclusive possession except the exertion of individuals, basing all exchange of titles on hour for hour of adult human work regardless of its kind or nature.

Alas, alas. All systems are tyrannical—there is no equitable *unit* of exchange. It is ancient and durable doctrine that though your need be as two and four yet shall your bounty be beauty and song.

Any fool can make a rule
And every fool will mind it.

Evils are evil and must be destroyed. But evil is necessary and must be endured. "That man is free whom the law serves . . . who is dealt with by superior powers." Therefore, if you must erect a cage and enter in, seek no convert to your doom. (Vanguard Press and The Equitist League, 50 cents.)

MARTIN BEARDSLEE

Evolution Caught in the Act

"THE OUTLINE OF HISTORY," "The Story of Philosophy," "The Outline of Science," and "Evolution for John Doe" have been serving as a sort of hit-and-run library for our middle-brow American. Comes now the 1928 addition to this important collection in the form of *Creation by Evolution.* Since the days of Bryan and Scopes the popular appetite for evolution has increased, and here we have real food scientifically predigested and put up so it is palatable for those who seek "a reason."

"Facts not theories are given in this book," which is a consensus of present day knowledge set forth by twenty-four leading scientists of Great Britain and America. The editor, Mrs. Frances Mason, has carried through a great idea in bringing under one cover the condensed results of a century of research as expressed by these men in possession of the most formidable array of degrees and titles available in the field. This volume may be regarded as the "Outline of Evolution." Of necessity it gives conclusions rather than processes.

One may take himself less seriously or more so after reading this discussion of a billion years of change condensed into 370 pages. We have to get on our "shrinking caps" as we pass from the "exceedingly large units of the universe" to a consideration of "the exceedingly small world of the atom."

The book is decidedly not anti-religious. On the contrary, how can we be "Christian" and not accept Dr. Morgan's great declaration that "in what we may speak of as the age-long process of building up and breaking down of modes of fellowship, evolution has prevailed over dissolution." Even Clarence Darrow might be less pessimistic about the "Myth of the Soul" if he would read this convincing book.

If the universe has any meaning and is not "a tale told by an idiot—signifying nothing," then evolution does much to give it that meaning. Evolution "has not destroyed our belief in the dignity of man nor in the existence of God" (p. 77).

This book is creating wide discussion and deserves it. It is probably the best production of its kind which has yet appeared. (Macmillan, $5.00.)

STAN PIER

Rainbow Round My Shoulder

HOWARD W. ODUM has authentic material, and he is familiar in the most intimate ways with Southern life. In this latest book of his he has woven the many strands of Negro race instincts and tendencies and their social and emotional responses into the pattern of the person of a black migrant worker who tells in Southern dialect the narrative of his life against an immense screen picturing the life of his people and their attitude toward the whites and America.

A descriptive sub-title calls this "The Blue Trail of Black Ulysses." With the aura of his African personality wrapped as a rainbow round his shoulders, this happy, sad, lonely, tragic, poor and socially neglected black man works and wanders through Arkansas, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Kansas, Arizona, South Carolina, Virginia and Massachusetts to find life the same everywhere. Sometimes in verse, sometimes in prose the book conveys the emotional tone with an accuracy which is amazing, like music in a great drama.

Odum has filled this important and interesting book with folklore and folk songs which he has been collecting for years. The man Ulysses will probably join the gallery of great Negro figures in fiction; Ulysses and the comments made about him by Odum, occasionally through the book, are a study of some of the aspects of our Negro problem. This is raw and real stuff; it is a document with literary and social values. (Bobbs Merrill, $3.)

AGNES A. SHARP

The Island Within

ONE is tempted to believe after reading Ludwig Lewisohn's absorbingly interesting and exquisitely written story, *The Island Within,* that it is but another autobiography going back further and reaching down deeper into his own life and that of his people than "Up Stream."

The story of Arthur Levy, a brilliant young American-born psychiatrist, is rooted back with amazing clarity and skill through the life of his father who migrated to New York at twenty, and that of his grandfather in Insterburg, Prussia, in that of his great-grandfather, an honored teacher of Vilna, with a careful delineation of their efforts to divest themselves of their Jewishness at each stage of the transition from their old-world setting. The end is defeat and frustration, the loss of emotional stability and a sharp retreat into the traditional life of the race, because the psychic residuum of his ancestral heritage cannot reconcile itself with the life with which it seeks to fuse.

One of a different racial and religious heritage, but having a sincere appreciation of the contribution the Jewish people have made and can make to the world's life, must needs raise the question whether there is not in all of us, regardless of race or cultural background, an "island within" which can never be shared or forsaken unless and until we are willing to test the value of its constituent elements in the light of the best we can gain from any and every race, creed, or culture, holding steadfastly to those which stand the test and voluntarily leaving the rest behind us. Mutuality in the process is the fundamental necessity. Gentile must share with Jew, white man with black, brown, and yellow, or there is no hope for the emotional sanity and spiritual quality necessary to the mutual control of the natural, mechanical, and political resources of the race. Nor should we forget the significance of the time element involved in so complicated a process! Only so can we keep faith in and with humanity. (Harper, $2.50.)

AMY BLANCHE GREENE

Building a World Community

IN *Paths to World Peace,* Bolton C. Waller chooses to emphasize that side of world peace which has to do with a future world society in peace time. Many books of the same title deal with the task of getting rid of war, but this author deals with the kind of world we must expect to live in tomorrow, if human development goes on as it has in the past. Wars will fade out of the picture as a result of this new type of world community life.

Man's economic and cultural contacts have widened the circle of their outreach, with his intellectual and mechanical growth, until today, for the first time, man lives in the world and by the world. Our emotional symbolism and our thought patterns have not yet caught up with our practical living—but they must. We now have the amusing if pathetic paradox of men living in a world community, but talking and singing about small parts of that community as though the part were dearer and more important than the whole. But this cannot be for long.

There will always be "community problems" in this new and smaller world. There will always be clashes and conflicts. There will always be differences of honest opinion and anti-social individuals and groups—as there are now in the smaller communities which we operate and know. But we must come to think of these wider community problems as we think of neighborhood affairs today.

Our minds must jump imaginary geographical boundary lines and desert artificial loyalties to come to grips with the real issues. World community problems like natural resources, trade routes, emigration and immigration, labor markets, standards of living, etc., require collective thought, compromise, mutual adjustment and world settlement.

And not all human conflicts can be settled; men must learn to wait. Mr. Waller wants us to face the problem of a political machinery that can provide for world deliberation, world judgment and world action on issues that are already with us. He feels that the League of Nations is a hopeful beginning and needs only use, criticism, alteration in growth, and confidence to become this steering-gear and clearing-house for the new world society.

Pacifists will not agree with all there is in this book. Some of the reasoning is questionable and it is all "old stuff" to those who have read widely in this field—but it is good for Americans who doubt the League. (Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Two shillings sixpence.) TUCKER P. SMITH

Quaker Adventures

UNDER this title Edward Thomas has gathered together twenty-three stories of courageous good-will in Silesia, Danzig, Germany, France, Russia, Serbia, Ireland, Syria, China, Japan, the Pennsylvania coal fields, and among American Indians. Here is evidence that peace has its victories no less renowned than those in battle. All over the world the red and black star of the Friends has become a symbol of kindliness and compassion and courage. No army equipped with bayonets and bombs has ever shown more patience and perseverance and daring than has been exhibited by the international corps of Quaker relief workers. Parents who are seeking a moral equivalent of war will do well to read these thrilling tales aloud around the fireplace or radiator. Some will doubtless lay in a supply to be used as Christmas presents. (Fleming H. Revell Co., $2.00.) K. P.

More Light on India

FOR anyone who desires to get the Indian viewpoint regarding the tangled questions that cluster about the British connection with India, and to get it placed before him in a wise, constructive way, I know of no better book to suggest than *The British Connection With India...* K. T. Paul, the author, can be depended on to present the Indian case with moderation and yet with straightforwardness and manliness. I commend this volume as a noble contribution by a noble Indian patriot. (London Student Christian Movement, $1.50.) E. STANLEY JONES.

China in a Novel

WHEN Putnam Weale writes of the history or political conditions of China, he so manipulates his material—for obvious or obscure purposes—that it has all the earmarks of fiction. But when he turns to writing fiction, as he is doing more and more, he again manipulates his material to such purpose that if he does not achieve history, he does at least approach truth. The plot of *China's Crucifixion,* his latest novel, can be described in a word—melodrama. Banditry, civil war, intrigue, and romance rush through his pages tumultuously. Whether one forgets or forgives the story, however, he cannot fail to be impressed with the picture Weale draws of foreign and native life in China, a picture that illuminates China's national and international situation today. There is the foreign opportunist who cares not who makes China's wars if he can make her ammunition; the foreign pacifist who works for peace till he, too, discovers money in her wars; the well intentioned foreigner who, ignorantly seeking to help, stirs the mess a little faster; and always the Chinese, persistently, deviously, going their own way, turning finally these variously motivated coadjutors into their dupes. And there are many ironic moments, such as when to a foreign wife at odds with her husband a shattering civil war means only a conversational outlet to relieve their personal strain, that show how deep is the abyss between East and West in China. (Macmillan, $2.50.)

VERA KELSEY

The Oxford History of the United States

AS the title suggests, Professor S. E. Morison's two volume history was written primarily for English readers. He covers the years 1783 to 1917, and he concludes his work with the entrance of America into the World War. As an American writing for a British public his task of interpreting Anglo-American relations was a delicate one. He has accomplished it with balance and without prejudice. As he says in his preface, his scope and direction are largely determined by the questions asked him by his English friends and pupils during his three years of teaching American history in Oxford. He is bold, outspoken and accurate. There is no hint of pro-British feeling. He has brought many new facts from his study of the documents here and in the London Public Record Office. His style and charm make this exceedingly valuable history interesting to Americans and English alike. (Oxford University Press, 2 vols., $10.) AGNES A. SHARP

Havelock Ellis

HAVELOCK ELLIS, Philosopher of Love, by Houston Peterson, is an extremely interesting biography of a living subject in which Ellis has assisted and provided a good deal. A large proportion of the book is a review of the development of modern psychology in which Ellis has had such a large share. This is a study of the growth of a philosophical mind rather than an official biography. Havelock Ellis is important to modern thinking because his tenets are based on a lifetime of calm and patient reflections. He has approached sex scientifically and poetically, and Mr. Mencken has said, "He is undoubtedly the most civilized Englishman of his generation."

The book as a whole is well written and timely. It has a curiously impersonal tone as if Houston Peterson was under bond to say very little of the man and to write only of the philosopher. His subject lacks the aliveness of Ellis. Very little indeed is said about the extremely interesting Edith Ellis, his wife. (Houghton Mifflin, $4.50.)

AGNES A. SHARP

Messiahs Sought and Rejected

I DO not know what purpose Salomon Poliakov had in writing *The Rejected Messiah,* nor can I say what picture he wanted to paint—but he has given us a good description of the mass mind that seeks Messiahs and of the individual mind that produces them. In this story of a Jewish youth of the seventeenth century he has produced a narrative that should interest both those who seek entertainment and those who want to philosophize upon human hopes and weaknesses.

To me the picture is accurate. Men who seek Messiahs do not want to find them, would kill them if they should meet them. Religions that feed on the mysterious are apt to produce neuroses and morbidity. I wish every Christian who dotes on the great mysteries and who glories in rich symbolism might read this story of a young man and woman who brooded on these and followed them to their logical conclusion—and see the spiritual ruin and ethical barrenness they attained. Frantic hopes produce tragic efforts.

There is also much in this story that is suggestive of the setting that produced Jesus—in the mass psychology of the time and even in the personal psychology of the hero. It is a picture for the Christian apologist to ponder. (Albert and Charles Boni, $2.50.)

TUCKER P. SMITH

Young Russia Goes to School

MUCH has been written about the development of education in Russia since the Revolution. But nowhere is there a more fascinating and withal informative volume than *The Diary of a Communist Schoolboy,* by N. Ognyov. The book is written by a Russian teacher impersonating one of his pupils. It turns a mighty searchlight on such perennial school problems as the relation of teachers and pupils and pupils among themselves, the curriculum, discipline, sex in adolescence, and many more. And all these are seen against the background of the revolutionary philosophy of the Communists with its radical reversal of conventional criteria of values. The excellent translation by Alexander Werth preserves the flavor of the original by successfully adapting the school slang of these amazing youngsters. (Payson and Clark, $2.50.)

H. C. E.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

The Cost of Living in Twelve Industrial Cities, published by The National Industrial Conference Board. New York, 1928. 9 x 6. 76 pages. $1.50. The cities are Boston, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Dayton, Reading, Springfield, Mass., Syracuse, Butler, Pa., Leominster, Mass., Lockport, N. Y., Marion, Ohio. See editorial in this issue.

The Economic Status of the Wage Earner in New York and Other States, published by the National Industrial Conference Board. New York, 1928. 9 x 6. 125 pages. $2.50. The states are New York, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania.

Dark Princess, by W. E. B. DuBois. 1928. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 5 x 8. 312 pages. $2. A drama of the movements of the dark peoples of the world for freedom and self-determination. A piece of symbolic social literature and propaganda. Written with fine nervous ardor and scorn for injustice.

PHILOSOPHY FOR THE LAYMAN *Series*

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THE old morality, founded on tradition and respect for authority, is being reformed in the social crucible by a scientific, experimental attitude toward morals. Where is the jazz age going? How may those entrusted with the guidance of youth help to contrive a new morality, new codes of conduct which are consonant with the spirit of a world moving rapidly from old standards? Durant Drake discusses, in a detached and enlightened manner, the many problems of personal and group conduct that are now perplexing thoughtful men and women. This first volume in the new *Philosophy for the Layman Series* is a very human and readable survey for all those who are working toward a new moral thoughtfulness and a better technique for securing the common good.

***At all bookstores*— $2.50**

The Macmillan Company New York

The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe, by Agnes Headlam-Morley. London: Oxford University Press, 1928. 5½ x 7½. 298 pages. $3.50. This useful study attempts to show how the new constitutions of Europe were framed as answer to the problems confronting the several states. Despite certain weaknesses they make the constitution of the United States appear medieval by comparison.

Napoleon and the Rhine, by Hermann Oncken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. 5½ x 7½. 209 pages. $2.25. The War has familiarized most people with the "German menace" to France. In order to reestablish the equilibrium let them study in this volume the "French menace" to Germany. It is only the introductory summary of the important three-volume work of Oncken. Professor Schevill's foreword, pleading for international amity, is excellent.

Aimée Villard, Daughter of France, by Charles Silvestre. Translated by Marjorie Henry Ilsley and Renée Jardin. New York: 1928. Macmillan. 5 x 7. 200 pages. $1.75. A story of simple devotions to simple things. French peasant life day by day.

Quicksand, by Nella Larsen. 1928. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 5 x 8. 302 pages. $2.50. The narrative of a mulatto who is dragged one way by her white blood and another by her Negro. No intent to socialize or propagandize.

Commerce of South America, by Clarence F. Jones. Boston: Ginn and Company. 5½ x 8. 584 pages. $3.20. A well-documented account of the history, present trends and future possibilities in the commercial development of South America by the professor of economic geography of Clark University.

First and Only Work of Its Kind!

Encyclopedia of Labor Movement

Edited by H. B. LEES-SMITH, M.A., D.Sc.
Foreword by J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, LL.D.,
Former Prime Minister of Great Britain

"THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT," just published in Great Britain, is a work of international importance. It deals not only with the tremendously significant British Labor Movement, but also covers the social, political and industrial movements of the leading countries of the world.

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"Here we have something of sober authority, something that can be depended upon, something written not with a political but an intellectual object."

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Alexander. A Romantic Biography. By Konrad Bercovici. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp., 1928. 5½ x 8. 335 pages. $2.50. Just as there is an Arthurian cycle of romance, so an Alexander cycle. This volume is an attempt to combine Plutarch and the "Iskander" romance. But the field is much larger and more interesting than this book.

Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day, by C. R. Fay. London: Longmans, Green, 1928. 5½ x 8¾. 458 pages. $3.75. An excellent economic and social survey of Great Britain in the last two hundred years. The fact that the author lives in Canada made possible many important comparisons between the Old World and the New.

A Handbook of Children's Literature, by Emelyn E. Gardner and Eloise Ramsey. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1927. 7½ x 5½. 354 pages. $2.00. An invaluable guide for parents and teachers.

Father India, by C. S. Ranga Iyer. New York: Louis Carrier & Co., 1928. 7¾ x 5½. 213 pages. $2.00. One of the innumerable answers to Miss Mayo's best-seller. The reply is probably as unfair to the United States as the original volume is to India.

An India Journey, by Waldemar Bonsels. New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1928. 9½ x 6¼. 273 pages. $4.00. A German traveler with a discerning eye gives a vivid description of what he saw.

The Story of the Gypsies, by Konrad Bercovici. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Co., 1928. 9 x 6. 294 pages. $4.00. A fascinating tale told in an inimitable manner.

Sidelights on Our Social and Economic History, by S. E. Forman. New York: Century Co., 1928. 8¼ x 5½. 516 pages. $2.25. Selected readings covering a wide range and a long period.

A Brief History of the Relations Between the United States and Nicaragua, published by the Department of State. Washington: Superintendent of Public Documents, 1928. 9 x 6. 77 pages. 15 cents. A carefully prepared statement of the case for the defendant against the "radicals" who attack the Government's policy of armed intervention.

Marching With Sherman, by Major Henry Hitchcock. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. 9¼ x 6½. 332 pages. $4.00. Letters and diaries revealing efforts of Union forces to strike terror into the heart of the South.

Mexico, by J. Fred Rippy, Jose Vasconceles and Guy Stevens. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. 7 x 4½. 254 pages. $1.50. This valuable little volume is the first in a series on American foreign policy being published by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Asia Reborn, by Marguerite Harrison. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 9 x 6. 389 pages. $4.00. A rapid survey of cross currents throughout the whole of Asia by an experienced traveler and journalist.

The Pacific: A Forecast, by Lieutenant Colonel P. T. Etherton and H. H. Tiltman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928. 8¼ x 5¾. 258 pages. $3.00. Two Britishers discuss certain military and commercial aspects of the Pacific problem.

A Wakening World, by Stanley High. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928. 4½ x 7½. 233 pages. $1.00. A vital contribution to frank and open discussion of missionary policies for all who believe that world brotherhood may be achieved among men.

CORRESPONDENCE

What Is a Lie?

MR. CASHMAN'S letter anent "The Trial of Fred R. Marvin" contains a statement, "His lawyer didn't admit (and still doesn't) that 'some of the statements against her were lies.' To lie is *knowingly* to state an untruth." This throws some light upon the mental capacity of our professional patriots. So long as they retain their appalling ignorance, they will never state an untruth.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

New York City.

The Case for Foster

LAST month Ralph C. Preston pleaded with your progressive readers not to waste their votes on Norman Thomas but to help send Al Smith to the White House. May I balance this with a plea that WORLD TOMORROW readers swell the left-wing vote for Foster?

I appeal to men and women who know that our society today is essentially an expression of greed, exploitation, and violence, and who believe that the world can and must move on from capitalism to a more just and decently humane relationship. Clearly, voters with such a conviction are not merely registering a "protest" vote. Their candidates are significant, not as individuals to be compared one with another, but as standard-bearers for the world movements they represent.

Many of us, in 1924, voted for Foster because the Socialist coalition with the progressives in the La Follette campaign seemed a betrayal of the true function of the socialist movement. Now, in 1928, there is no coalition, but the Socialists are still appealing to the progressive vote and many of us will again vote for the Workers (Communist) Party candidates who stand on a clear-cut revolutionary program and appeal only to class-conscious workers for support.

The issue, it seems to me, is between two world movements divided in every country on two main points: First, can the capitalist world be transformed bit by bit into a Socialist world, or must there be in every country sooner or later the moment of revolutionary change when state power passes to the workers? Second, is the problem of socialism versus capitalism essentially a national or an international question?

1. The Socialist Parties are now committed to programs stressing the gradual nationalization of basic industries. They dream of avoiding catastrophic change. The Communists start with a well-grounded theory of state power as a class tool—a theory which has been considerably strengthened by recent history. They say something like this: "If you nationalize industries one by one, you still leave the money power pretty much intact; you leave the state power in the hands of the money power. You say 'collective bargaining must be recognized,' but actually you know that now the workers are divided and largely unorganized. In such nationalized industries they would be subject to a control even more tyrannical and hostile to strikes or other resistance than the present steel trust. First we must build the class-consciousness of the workers. And when the workers recognize their part in this historic process, then they will take the power, and in the workers' state nationalization will follow."

This is not merely theory. The last ten years have shown, on the one hand, in Germany and Great Britain the disintegration

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of radical purpose among the Socialists, who have become so grad ual that even when holding office they scarcely move perceptibly a all, and, on the other hand, the genuine revolutionary accomplish ments of the communist workers' regime in the Soviet Union.

2. The Socialist Parties, although federated in the Second In ternational, have practically settled in as national movement They emphasize the differences in the various national situation and resent as meddlesome interference any criticism or counse from Socialist groups in other countries. They have in practic repudiated the time-honored socialist principle that the workers i all countries have more in common than the workers and owner within any country. They will have nothing to do with the "revo lutionary dictatorship" of Moscow and turn to the League o (capitalist) Nations for their internationalism.

The Communist Parties emphasize the basic unity of the world economic development. American workers, they say (even thos with Fords and radios), are no less truly a proletariat than Euro pean or Indian or Chinese workers. With the rapidly increasin concentration of international financial control the national bour daries are as irrelevant to a revolutionary movement as the old craft lines are in unions trying to organize a modern industry.

So line up for Foster! He represents the one world movemen which is building workers' class-conscious, international solidarity Without this, the basic change from capitalism to socialism wi never come.

New York City. ANNA ROCHESTER

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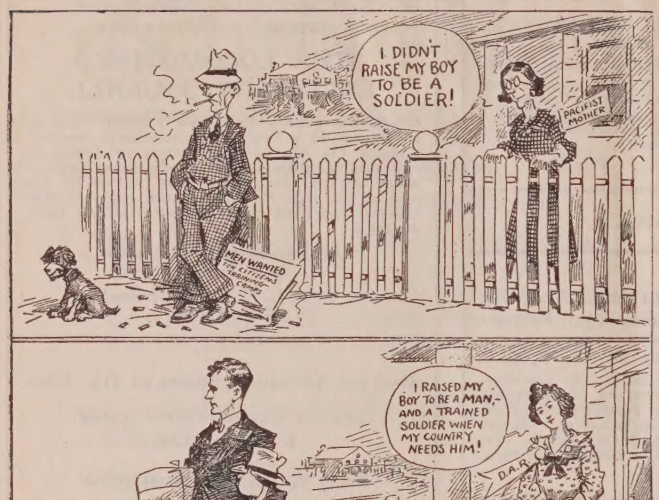
The Last Page


I DIDN'T RAISE MY BOY TO BE A SOLDIER!
PACIFIST MOTHER
MEN WANTED
I RAISED MY BOY TO BE A MAN,- AND A TRAINED SOLDIER WHEN MY COUNTRY NEEDS HIM!
D.A.R.
TO THE CITIZENS MILITARY TRAINING CAMP
JAMES NORTH

MOTHERS OF MAIN STREET

WHAT under the sun is This?

This, dearly beloved brethren, is Something Choice.

This is Art.

This is Subtlety, Infinitely Refined.

This is Patriotism.

I just know It is.

You see, It was put out by the Daughters of the American Revolution, in their magazine.

That just about Settles All.

Listen, you pacifists, doesn't it make you *Squirm?*

You *will* Stand Around and Lean on Fences, will you?

You *will* Smoke Cigarettes, will you?

You *will* be such a no-good that your very dog Grates his Teeth in Humiliation.

Shame!

It's your Mother's fault, of course. Just Look at the woman!

Bobbed hair. Think of That; *bobbed hair!*

Skirt Halfway to her Knees! What's the Country coming to?

Look here, upon this picture, and on this,

said Hamlet. He Expatiated a Mouthful.

Hamlet's Dead.

Not only that; he was a Dane. That shows where *my* Americanism is. I'll probably have my Ears Stretched for that blunder. Still it's Too Late to Turn Back now. Don't fire, ladies, till you see the White of my Liver. Let the massacre be Painless.

Now, to the pacifists again, I Address Myself, and I Tearfully Cry,—or at least I Cry—

Lookit that fine young feller!

See that Flag in the Buttonhole; everybody knows where *he* stands. He's the sort that never gets Caught in a Crowd when they sing the Star Spangled Banner and has to bridge over forgotten passages along about the Third Verse with a few Tum-ty-tum-Tums; no, *Sir!*

Lookit that hat! The only thing lacking to go with that is a Band playing grandly, Do-do-do, me, sol, do! Entrance! Applause! (Or, as the printer unkindly put after a Congressional speech, Applesauce.)

You see where that feller's Headed For, don't you?

That's the sort of lad Real American She-Women bring up.

Just gaze, my fellow-citizens, on that Dear Little Woman standit so proudly on the quiet porch of her Humble Little Home on Ma Street.

On one side of her proud breast, the Stars and Stripes. On th other, the D. A. R. *There's symbolism for you!* If this be treaso don't for heaven's sake tell Anybody I said it. I'm a Coward, i my Inmost Soul.

I must be. Brave Men would like that Little Woman. Frankl I Don't.

I don't like that Pile of Hair. I smell a Rat.

If that skirt is approved by the D. A. R., I'll try to Stand I It isn't nearly as long as the one worn by the Leader of the D. A. I when she Swept up the Aisle last spring before King George (th Fifth). Neither is it so Good-Looking. But I confess it has Its Ad vantages: it will always be a way of identifying a Patriotic Mothe Or so I gather, from this instructive Drawing.

I like the dog Least of All. I can't blame him for being so happ to see the Boy Going Away; but it is hardly good taste thus t Exhibit his Pleasure.

There are a couple of lessons that have thus far escaped me. M soul has not yet Drunk all the Chastening Scorn that, as a pacifist' it should.

What is the significance of that bow tie, as against the wretche four-in-hand of the youth who has Sunk into Degeneracy from fai ing to goose-step blithely off to the C. M. T. C.? Maybe it is t cover a Weak Chest; all boys who take the training camp wor have Strong Chests—before they take it.

Most of all am I fluttered by curiosity as to What Is In the Bundl Pajamas? More likely the Old-Fashioned Nightshirt is good enoug for Him.

One thing *I* know. If I ever have a boy of my own, I shan't hav any Picket Fence. Then he can't Lean Against It. I shall neve bring up any Boy of Mine to soldier around *my* yard.

Next month, Fred Marvin willing, we may present another Seriou Educational Very Moving Picture entitled, *"She was only a daughte of Uncle Sam, but she liked to call him Samuel."*

* * *

POLITICAL broadcasting. From the New York *Times,* Democratic, Sept. 24: "11:30 P. M. Address by Governor Smit at Helena, Mont., WOR and 21 stations." From the New Yor *Herald Tribune,* Republican, Sept. 24: "The speech of Governo Smith at Helena, Montana, tonight, will not be broadcast by radi stations in the New York area."

* * *

TALK about the use of money in campaigns! Even the linotyp machines are saturated with realism these days. In an nouncing the result of a primary contest for nomination for the Boar of Aldermen, the New York *Times* stated, on Sept. 19: "Accordin to unofficial returns collected by Mrs. Pratt's campaign headquarters she carried her own Assembly district, the Fifteenth or 'silk stock ing' district, by nearly $1,500."

* * *

I SEE in the papers that showers of eggs were hurled at Repre sentative W. P. Bankhead of Parrish, Alabama, when he wa speaking on behalf of Governor Smith. According to the dispatch "The eggs were thrown at Mr. Bankhead through an open window He paused and declared that he was being treated discourteously. Some people are terribly sensitive.

* * *

A WAG writes to the New York *Telegram* to ask why H is th greatest letter in the alphabet. Answer (his, of course) "because it is the beginning of Hoover and the end of Smith."

In Hoover it is just before nothing, and in Smith comes after it (Some folks insist you ought to spell it H_2O ver.) As for me, couldn't vote for Hoover for two good reasons—his party and himself It's almost as bad with Al. The beginning of Smith is the end o

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